

PRINCESS DIANA RATTLES THE ROYALS

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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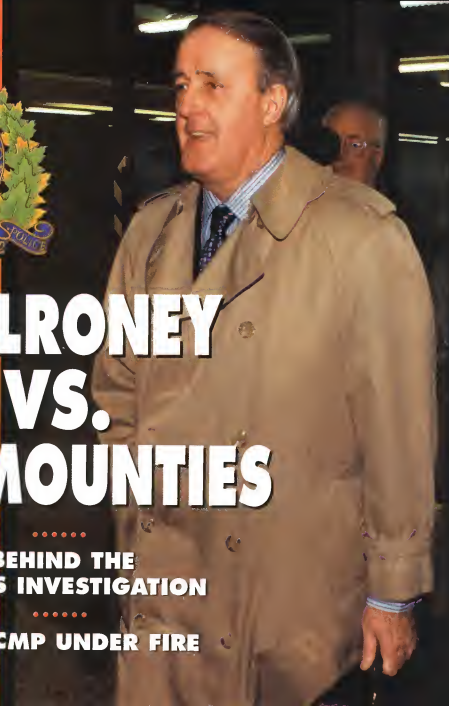
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AIRBUS INVESTIGATION**

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THE RCMP UNDER FIRE



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LETTERS

University ranking

As part of the university decision-making process in our faculty, we took several days to visit some universities. I was startled to see them today, as they struggle with cutbacks, strikes and staff reductions. On one campus that you rank very highly, I watched the librarian check out books with a date stamp and ticked and when I asked our tour guide if the campus was wired, she didn't understand my question. I applaud you for undertaking such a thorough endeavor as the annual ranking ("Universities 95," Cover, Nov. 28), but I would still urge prospective applicants and parents to have a look for themselves. Many things have changed.

Donn Goldie,
St. Catharines, Ont. ■

The fifth annual university rankings issue is a squeaky snapshot of Canada's postsecondary institutions. It's high time, though, that you include in your survey the other half of our nation's postsecondary study community colleges.

Dan de Juke Schiffrin,
Vice-president, academics,
Nagara College,
Welland, Ont. ■

I am surprised by an omission: I am sure that every single university listed is on the Internet. Many of them have wonderful World Wide Web sites with photographic tours, admissions information, departmental and even course descriptions. Start publishing those Internet addresses!

Michael Myhrberg,
Calderbrook, N.S. ■

The shining, youthful, white-Canadian faces on the cover of your university rankings are not like the students I have taught at Concordia University for most of 25 years. I am proud to say that the classes I teach at night attract part-time students of all ages and cultural backgrounds. Each year, my class lists more like the radical of the United Nations. If I were a prospective student, I might well favor a university more representative of the cultural mix of Canada.

David Miller,
Department of religion,
Concordia University,
Montreal ■

The category "percentage of first-year classes taught by tenured professors" should be dropped. Untenured professors usually



The University of Western Ontario: starting to see these struggle with cutbacks

younger and/or assistant, frequently bring more teaching enthusiasm and ability. In contrast, senior faculty thrive more on research and may resent having to teach first-year classes. Their years of experience, while available in advanced courses, are largely irrelevant or even distracting at the introductory level.

Roger Wierse,
Prince George, B.C. ■

A nomination

I would like to nominate, for the Medicine's Honor Roll, 72-year-old Dr. Henry Moninger. His courage in the face of social, physical, religious and even legal conflict continues to inspire and shape the confidence of women across this country to take charge of their own bodies in matters of reproduction. And he has stirred the conscience of our nation to respect the rights of women to seek abortion services without fear of legal reprisals.

Joan Colbeck,
Farmville, N.S. ■

Treat with logic

I thought your article describing the state of medicine in Canada was quite accurate ("Condition critical," Special Report, Nov. 15). When I made the decision to become a physician years ago, I like most of my colleagues, wanted to be the sick. Little did I know that some day I would be asked by the government not to practise my profession with one arm behind my back. I see it every day in the type of medication I can and cannot give to my patients based on what they can and cannot afford, and in the long waiting lists for tests and referrals. I regrettably saw the bureaucratic bungling between my provincial medical association and my provincial government. It is time to inform the public that medical care is

not free. Let's treat this ill healthcare system with compassion, intelligence and logic. Some day, we will all depend on it.

Dr. Allen Yu,
Barrie, Ont. ■

Once again, physicians are singled out and given a level of political clout that is out of proportion to their numbers. As a nurse, I think if you were to take another survey among nurses and allied health personnel, you might find the opinions held by the medical profession are not necessarily shared by other members of the health-care team. Nurses are much more controlled by the publicly funded, publicly administered, universal access, single-tier system than are physicians, who stand to gain significantly in income if privatization were to occur.

Gerald M. Neelands,
Grand Prairie, Alta. ■

As a nurse, I found the narrow picture of Canada's health-care system to be disappointing and misleading. Health-care delivery is more complex than the article implies. Government has tried to refocus some resources away from treating disease to health promotion and primary health care. Where these programs are uniformly available, the use of acute and intensive-care treatment becomes the exception. Doctors and hospitals have bought this approach, as it threatens their livelihood. They cling to their role as gatekeepers to the system, while berating the shortcomings of this same system. Doctors must move with the current realignment of priorities lest they become dinosaurs.

Joan Colbeck,
Farmville, N.S. ■

As a writer, I understand neither money nor letters very well. I would be glad to accept these helpful notes, address and telephone numbers. Write: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, 777 Denison St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 3A4. Fax: (416) 593-0330. E-mail: lettercolumns@ci.ca or 7066 2247/comp@netcom.ca



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MACLEAN'S/DECEMBER 4, 1995

MURKIN IN THE MOUNTAINS

BY STEVE CAMERON

The spectacle of a man who was the prime minister of Canada for almost nine years declaring legal war on his own government and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in a \$50-million libel suit is so extraordinary that it could put to rest, once and for all, the international myth that Canadian politics are dull. But just as extraordinary are the RCMP's allegations of bribery against him, which state that he and two other men, former Newfoundland premier and Ottawa lobbyist Frank Moores and Montreal businessman Roderich Schreier, may have been paid millions of dollars in connection with the sale of 61.8 billion worth of aircraft to Air Canada during Mulroney's tenure as prime minister. In documents that Mulroney's own lawyers made public last week as part of their legal defense, RCMP investigators allege that as much as \$50 million from Airbus Industrie was moved from a Paris bank to a Liechtenstein shell company called International Aircraft Leasing Ltd., controlled by Schreier and then funneled into two accounts in the Swiss Bank Corp. in Zurich. The investigators insist that their confidential sources say that a quarter of that money, or about \$5 million, went to Mulroney himself.

Mulroney's decision to launch his suit amid intense publicity last week in Quebec Superior Court was a bold pre-emptive strike, apparently designed as a bid to control the agenda and put his detractors on the defensive. In 65 pages of documents filed with the court, Mulroney's lawyers say that their client, "a lawyer of international stature," has been seriously damaged by "false" and "reckless" police allegations in a letter sent on Sept. 28 by the federal justice department to Swiss authorities, requesting assistance with their inquiries. It is that document, they claim, that contains the explosive charge that there was a "pernicious plot/ conspiracy by Mr. Mulroney, Mr. Moores and Mr. Schreier, who defrauded the Canadian government in the amount of millions of dollars during the time that Mr. Mulroney was in office until his resignation in June, 1985." The lawsuit claims that the RCMP and justice department officials bowed their request on allegations "fully generated by media speculation, knowing they were totally incapable of proving any of that, but made them nevertheless with utter disregard for the disastrous impact which they were bound to have on [Mulroney's] reputation."

In their letter to the Swiss, RCMP investigators alleged that Schreier and Moores had a secret agreement with Mulroney to make sure that Air Canada, then a Crown corporation, bought 34 Airbus A300 aircraft. In 1986 or 1987, the RCMP says, Moores set up the two accounts at the Swiss Bank Corp.—one of which, code-named "Devon," was set up to



■ Mulroney on Ottawa in 1983, a bold pre-emptive strike, putting his detractors on the defensive

receive money for Mulroney. For his part, the former prime minister has flatly denied ever having any foreign bank account. The lawsuit further states that the RCMP asserted, as part of its evidence, that the CBC news program *The Fifth Estate* established a connection between Mulroney and the Airbus pay memo—once though neither Mr. Mulroney nor the German investigation, *Der Spiegel*, which carried an article about it in the government's letter, made any such link. As a result, the former prime minister used the justice department in the person of its minister, Allan Rock, Minister of Justice, the justice department lawyer who signed the letter to the Swiss, and the RCMP officers investigating the allegations.

Those allegations amounted to a political bombshell, but Rock insisted last week that politics played no role in his department's decision to seek help from the Swiss in their investigation of the Airbus scandal. Rock and the letter signed by Pratt was just one of 100 in 158 similar requests for assistance that the justice department handles each year from police forces seeking help from authorities in other countries. He said such requests are routinely handled without getting the minister's office involved—even when it touches on a former prime minister. "I think there should be the same approach for all Canadians, no matter who they are," Rock said.

The former prime minister's Airbus lawsuit raises a series of new questions



■ Airbus A-320 aircraft owned by last owner, bank accounts, alleged payments

But the identity of the chief suspect made the case anything but routine. Far from settling the questions that had been swirling around him, the aggressive silence of the Mulroney team and their lawyers throughout last week raised many more questions. Among them was the way that RCMP investigators handled their request to the Swiss government. After one of Mulroney's lawyers, Gerald Tremblay, declared, for example, that the RCMP and the justice department had acted on "unsubstantiated reports in the media and oral," an unidentified source "to make scurrilous suggestions that are unfounded and that have caused incalculable damage to Mr. Mulroney and his family," Swiss police quickly jumped to the defense of the officials and the Minister Pierre Schmid, an assistant commissioner at Swiss federal police headquarters in Bern, said that Canada had acted correctly in refusing to re-open its investigation against Mulroney and others. "That's right, they have to do that," he said firmly. "If they don't do that, we certainly have to ask for additional information."

Schmid said he needed this information to make a decision about whether or not to ask the Swiss Bank Corp. to freeze two bank accounts allegedly set up to receive Airbus money, and later over any documents' linkage to those accounts. And he said the information was detailed enough for his department to pass it on quickly to the Swiss attorneys general—and that if the allegations were proven it would constitute a violation of Swiss law. "We look at the facts to determine if it would also be punishable by the criminal law [of Switzerland]," Schmid said in an interview with *Murphy's*. The investigation now under way in Bern, he added, was very "similar to a criminal investigation." Given

'There should be the same approach for all Canadians'

the detail in the Canadian request, the Swiss quickly froze the two accounts and gathered the relevant documents, which could be in the hands of the Mounties within weeks.

Another aggressive measure by the former prime minister, which may have backfired, is the unprecedented libel suit itself—in part, at least, because of the way in which the allegations against Mulroney first became public. According to Mulroney's claim, Pratt "submitted to news having bothered to verify the truth of the charges" before sending on the request to Switzerland. Presumably "a process of publication which further exacerbated the original harm caused to [Mulroney's] reputation." (Neither Murray nor Pratt made any public comment on the case last week.)

But who exactly set the process of publication in motion? Conflicting reports circulated all last week, how copies of documents prepared for Mulroney's case found their way into the hands of *Friday Magazine*. The *Montreal Post* reported how the story that the former prime minister was under police investigation just hours before his lawyers announced the suit on Nov. 18. The *Post* said it was not being used and Mulroney, an experienced investigative reporter who had not previously worked on the Airbus effort, based his story on documents that appeared to match the copies included in the Mulroney lawsuit. But Mulroney's vehemently denied that he was leaked the documents by anyone in the Mulroney camp, and he also said the versions were not the same.

Further questions arose how did Mulroney get the documents in the first place? The answer seemed to be in the process itself. The Swiss

LIFE ON THE HILL

happened. That money also went through Schröder's law firm, which is still causing irritation at Aurigny Leasing.

Dear Head was the one deal that fell through. Ontario MPs who wanted the defence department contract given to a General Motors factory in London, Ont., opposed Thyssen, GM eventually won, and Thyssen was outraged that Schröder sold friends in Canada that the company might sue the federal government, which had signed a letter of agreement in principle on the deal. Today, Schröder is fighting demands from German tax authorities that he turn over all his records in 2005, in early November, they raided his house and office in Germany. Schröder spends little time in Canada now, but he remains close to former Tory cabinet minister Elmer Mackay, who backed him on the Blair deal. Mackay declined to comment on the affair when contacted by *Maclean's* last week.

Moore was the other key player in this high-stakes group. The *Financial News* founder was the registered Ontario lobbyist for both M&G and Thyssen and his former executive assistant, Greg Allford, became Dear Head's Canadian vice-president. For most business colleagues at Moore's firm, Government Consultants International, evidence that Moore netted at least \$8 million from the firm over the years. Certainly, he became prosperous enough to buy a fishing camp on 12 miles of the Cascapedia River in Quebec, one of the finest salmon fishing rivers in the world. He built a \$500,000 country home near Elgin, Ont., and lives in a condominium worth at least \$250,000 adjacent to a golf course in Jupiter, Fla. The condominium is owned by a Luxembourgish shell company called *Fininvest*. Moore controlled by Schröder, but Moore says he only rents it. Still, the documents show that all the property tax bills are sent to Moore at his Elgin home. Moore declined to talk to reporters last week, but like Mulroney, he, too, has secured top legal talent—Roger Scahill, chairman of the Toronto law firm Oshesky, Harkin & Haccoun—to represent him at the Aurigny case.

For both parties to the Mulroney lawsuit, the legal challenges ahead are daunting. Swiss bank officials say they will have the information requested by the RCMP ready by Christmas—but anyone posted in the documents could begin a lengthy appeal against its release, thereby delaying the police investigation. And many legal experts argue that in order to win their lawsuit, Mulroney's lawyers will have to prove not only that investigators fairly accessed the former prime minister's files but that they acted "unlawfully." Still, Mulroney did accomplish one important goal last week, putting his case squarely before the court of public opinion and the government on the defence.



Mila and Brian Mulroney at a 1994 social dinner

sizes and colors ramp freely. And Mulroney has become a familiar figure at the dog run, casting a watchful eye over a large black poodle called Clover and—only if it is dark—a small white poodle with a bright ribbon in place of a collar. "He won't walk the little one in the daylight," confides a Murray Hill acquaintance, "apparently because Mila insists on tying that damn ribbon around the poor creature's neck."

In some ways, life has become a lot simpler for Mulroney since he stepped down in June, over two years ago. Or at least it was until the rumor of scandal shifted him back into the spotlight. When his punishing travel schedule permitted, he could be seen on occasion at all of the usual haunts frequented by his Westmount neighbors: interesting at nights on Geneva Avenue, catching a quick lunch in the weed-patched rooms at the University Club downtown, or dining nearby at the chic *Wolfe-Carlton* Hotel. He has even rediscovered the pleasure of playing hockey with his three sons. "I real-

ly thought I would miss it all when I retired from politics," he told *Le Presse* last year. "But it hasn't turned out that way at all."

Aurigny has certainly eased the tensions. Soon after his resignation, Mulroney accepted an appointment as senior partner with his old Montreal-based law firm, Ogilvy Gosselin. He purchased a \$1.6-million home in the heart of Westmount. Multinationals Charles Brodwin is a neighbor and, by most accounts, a friend. But it was his relationship with Peter Mink, chairman and chief executive officer of Homtek Corp., that allowed him to found Homtek. It is an investment house that controls the giant mining concern, Barrick Gold Corp. as well as Tranco Corp., the Canadian-based real estate firm. Mulroney sits on the board of directors of both Homtek and Barrick, as well as serving as chairman of Barrick's international advisory board. Mink has credited Mulroney for personally engineering a recent deal between Barrick and Montreal-based Power Corp. to develop gold mines in China. "He was the key, not a key," said Mink. "He opened the door. He is a person, took our proposals to the right people."

Other lucrative directorships also followed, including seats on the boards of Aerolineas SA, the Garrett Foundation's Freedom Forum, and Anchor-Delella-McLellan Co., the U.S. food-processing conglomerate now under criminal investigation by the U.S. government for price-fixing. Mulroney heads a blue-ribbon panel of executives led by Arthur Daniels to deal with Washington over the investigation. He also sits on international advisory boards for Power Corp., the Chemical Bank of New York City, floribonding the International Herald Tribune and the China International Travel and Investment Corp.

Despite his well-worn business connections, some people speculate that the Mulroneys are not particularly happy in Montreal, largely because they have not been welcomed there socially. There have even been reports, apparently denied by Mulroney's office, that he has been considering a move to New York. If that is true, then the folks who gather nightly at the dog run on Murray Hill may soon be missing a regular

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THE RCMP UNDER FIRE

Mulroney's lawsuit shows how tensions flare when police go after politicians

The 11-page lawsuit filed in Quebec Superior Court by former prime minister Brian Mulroney last week is not only incredible for the \$50 million in damages it seeks from the Canadian government, but for the vehemence of its language. The leader of the RCMP and the federal justice department constitutes "a blatant departure from common decency," Mulroney claims, fighting back against explosive allegations that he received millions of dollars' worth of kickbacks from a European securities firm while in office. The suit is just one example of the political heat being generated as the RCMP pursues perhaps the largest investigative target in its history—and of how the country's national police force itself has become a source of controversy.

Last week, the RCMP became the object of accusations and rumors among both Tories and Liberals. Mulroney's lawyers charged that the investigation into Air Canada's 1988 purchase of 34 Airbus A-320 aircraft is nothing less than a Liberal plot. And while at least one official in the Prime Minister's Office privately expressed delight over Mulroney's woes to Maclean's, more Liberals were, at the same time, skeptical of the RCMP's conduct. "The story so far makes you wonder whether the RCMP overstepped its boundaries," said one senior Liberal organizer in Toronto, who requested anonymity.

Political heat is inevitable when police go after politicians. During the scandal-plagued Mulroney years, which saw 10 cabinet ministers resign because of various allegations of wrongdoing and conflict of interest, relations between the RCMP and the Tory government were decidedly tense. And although relations are smoother under Jean Chrétien's Liberal government, some tensions remain. For one thing, Mulroney has learned that the RCMP launched a secret inquiry earlier this year into possible Liberal campaigns and interference with the investigation process. And in quite a different controversy earlier this month, the RCMP's scrutiny at the Prime Minister's official residence in Ottawa allowed a man to break into 24 James Drive in the middle of the night and confront Chrétien's wife, Anne, with a jackhammer. While the Chrétiens escaped harm, the four officers who were in duty were suspended without pay and later possible dismissed on upcoming disciplinary hearings. Three RCMP supervisors have been reassigned to other duties.

While that incident left a black mark on the RCMP's record, many Liberals worry about potential fallout from the Airbus investigation. If there is no substance to the allegations against Mulroney, they fear that the suit will be seen as a politically motivated smear campaign against a political opponent. "I hope the RCMP brought more care and caution to its investigation than they did to guarding the Prime Minister's residence," said the Liberal organizer. "If there is nothing

to the allegations, it leaves the Prime Minister's Office holding the bag." Added a Liberal political staffer on Parliament Hill: "We'll have massive eye on our backs if things blow up and the government has to issue a worldwide apology because Mulroney is innocent. Nobody's going to believe for a second that the investigation was not politically motivated."

Indeed, Liberal backbenchers were swirling with rumors in this effect last week. According to one theory raking the rounds, some government officials ordered the investigation into the Airbus deal because the dangerously close result to the Quebec referendum had rubbed all sense of the lustre from the Chrétien government. Such speculation was flatly denied in public statements by Chrétien, Justice Minister Allan Rock



Former RCMP commissioner Norman Macleod presents successor Philip Murray with the Spatshek, symbol of office

and Rock's deputy minister, George Thomson. They all said that they were first informed about the RCMP's case by media reports and Mulroney's lawyer, Roger Tanc.

In fact, many Liberals claim that they do not foresee close political pinks for their party as a result of the cloud over Mulroney and his former colleagues. "I think this strengthens the government with the same kind of stuff that Mulroney is standing in," said one Chrétien confidant. "It's a job for all politicians' houses." Other party members say that, if anything, the Liberals should be helping the Conservatives mend their standing with the public. The reason: the government won many seats in the last election because Conservatives and Reform candidates split the right-wing vote. If the Conservatives fall too low in

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popularity. Liberal organizers fear it could translate into fewer seats for the Liberals in the next federal election. Said the Liberal Parliament Hill staff: "There is nothing to be gained by winning the Tories down any further. We need those splits to happen, especially in Ontario, to get the next election."

But despite those sentiments, Conservative senators Marjory LeBreton, Mulroney's former deputy chief of staff, and Pat Carney, a former Mulroney cabinet minister, publicly suggested last week that the RCMP investigation was launched at the behest of the force's Liberal masters. "It's not questioning what the RCMP did, I'm questioning an

idea about the difficulty of investigating political targets, which must be vetted not only by the force's brass, but by Solicitor General Herb Gray, the minister responsible for the RCMP. They also complain that it is next to impossible to conduct a search of an MP's parliamentary office. The main obstacle stems from a law passed by the Mulroney Conservatives in May 1985. Bill C-79 stipulated that the RCMP would have to seek an opinion from the House of Commons' Board of Internal Economy, a secretive committee composed of MPs from all parties, before raiding an MP's office for evidence in any investigation. If the board declares that the investigation is unwarranted, the law obliges the RCMP to indicate that opinion in submissions to a judge for arrest, search and wiretap warrants, as well as summonses. The bill, which was opposed by the New Democrats, was widely seen as an attempt by elected officials to limit the RCMP's ability to scrutinize their actions. (At the very least, it could allow board members to link word of an MP's pending suit to targeted colleagues.) Further results came in December, 1985. RCMP commissioner Norman Inkster shocked Parliament Hill when he told the Commons justice committee that 15 MPs and senators were under investigation by his force, which had already conducted a total of 30 inquests into alleged abuses by parliamentarians during the previous four years.

Bill C-79 aside, senior RCMP investigators complained locally last week there was frequent interference by the Mulroney government into their political

The Liberals have had their own share of run-ins with the RCMP

.....

corrosive investigations during the Conservatives' rule. They say that the Tories demanded detailed briefings of cases involving political colleagues for the solicitor general and his political staff, opening the door to potential leaks and obstruction of justice. "There were difficulties with the relationship between government and the RCMP when Mulroney was in power," says Rod Stankis, the force's assistant commissioner from 1984 to 1989. "Political interference stifled investigations." A *Globe* critic editorially on the force in Toronto, who requested anonymity, put it more bluntly: "The RCMP became a political tool of the previous government." For their part, senior RCMP officials now say that Gray does not demand detailed briefings about political corruption cases, and that the Liberal government has not interfered in the Mulroney/Annis investigations.

If many former and current members of the RCMP remain bitter towards the Mulroney Conservatives, the feeling is clearly mutual. Many Mulroney intimates say that the force contained a cadre of investigators who were out to get them. "They were after high profile politicians," said a prominent Mulroney friend and ally, who requested anonymity out of fear of reprisals from the RCMP. "They were trophy hunters."

The source, who spoke to Mulroney extensively last week about the scandal, says that many Conservatives view the current *Annis* investigation as the work of a remnant of the anti-Tory RCMP group. He added that the fraying of the investigation itself has more to do with media reports about the case earlier than time on the CBC current affairs television show the *50th* estate and in the German news magazine, *Der Spiegel*, than with any Liberal conspiracy. "The RCMP is very reactive to the press," said the Mulroney confidant. "They sit on their noses until someone writes that something terrible has happened. It's a strange way to go about things." This skepticism is only one indication of the rifts that can be perceived between the national police force and the political masters they at times bend, and at other times, hunt.

PAUL KAHILA with E. RAYE FULTON and
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whose initiative they did it," said LeBreton, who, like Carney, was named to the Senate by Mulroney. "It was not an action they undertook on their own. It was politically ordered."

One irony underlying that accusation is that Liberals themselves fell under RCMP scrutiny this year. Mulroney has learned that several Liberal political supporters and MPs, including at least one cabinet minister, were interviewed by RCMP detectives as part of an inquiry into political corruption in the investigation system. Some Liberals say that the investigation, which seems to have petered out, produced lessons between members of the government and the RCMP. "We know that the RCMP was investigating Liberal MPs and cabinet ministers," one of the MPs contacted by the force told *Maclean's* last week. "I imagine that has created relationships between the government and the RCMP."

At the same time, some frontline RCMP officers have privately grum-



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TAKING THE PLUNGE

Lucien Bouchard heads to Quebec City—and the headaches of governing

BY BARRY CAHILL

Predictably, Lucien Bouchard chose to view the moment as nothing less than the work of fate, almost preordained. That, at least, was the clear impression left by the Bloc Québécois leader last week when, to no one's surprise, he agreed to accept the surprising outcome of the Parti Québécois and lost the mantle of paramount leader of Quebec's separatist movement. "Unconsciously, all my career has prepared me for this," declared Bouchard as he launched his widely anticipated bid to succeed Jacques Parizeau as leader of the PQ and premier of the province. "I ran to something for Quebec," he said. "I'm almost obliged to plunge in and take up the challenge."

If there was a trace of vanity in the remarks Bouchard delivered in Montreal, it was perhaps understandable. For rarely in Canada's modern-day history has any politician been so expertly courted or so ardently flattered. He may be anachronistic to the rest of the country, but in Quebec, Bouchard is the most popular figure since René Lévesque. And as the separatists, in a quite simply a nation, the province whose emotional thunder brought the 30-state within a whisker of victory in last month's referendum, and whose political ascent, they hope, will lead them out of the Canadian federal wilderness to the promised land of independence. Even though Bouchard will not assume the leadership of the PQ, and with it the premiership, until next January, Parti Québécois were already claiming that the mere promise of his presence has eradicated longstanding—and justly fabled—divisions between hardliners and moderates within the party. "There are no more ideological problems," deputy premier Bernard Landry confidently asserted in the wake of Bouchard's announcement. "Even the notion of *je n'irai pas* (I won't go) and *on n'ira pas* (we won't go) no longer has any meaning. The Parti Québécois has finally found its political balance."

That remains to be seen. But it is true that Bouchard wasted no time placing his own stamp on the party he now effectively commands, even if Parizeau remains officially in control until the changeover in January. The differences are as much a matter of style as substance, largely involving a promise to heal the wounds inflicted on Quebec society by the recent referendum. But at the same time, Bouchard has offered the rest of Canada a trace of hints as to what he envisions for the province for a year or two while he concentrates on the task of governing Quebec, then seeking his own mandate in a provincial election. In the next issue, English Canada can grapple with the latter in context of national change in try to persuade Quebec to remain in the federation. The key date is April 1997, when the Canadian Constitution is scheduled for a mandatory review by the Prime Minister and provincial leaders. "That that time, the ball will be in the court of Ottawa and



English Canada," said Bouchard. "While they are talking Canadianism, we will be dealing with employment, social solidarity, education and culture."

Quebec's new premier-to-be makes it clear that he does not expect much to emerge from what he described as the "noisy spectacle" of constitutional discussions in the rest of the country. Rather, he says it is simply a matter of waiting for the debate to exhaust itself, running down the usual blind alleys. "Once our partner

has drained the last drops of its incapacity to recognize our reality as a people, another referendum opening will occur, under winning conditions for Quebec," Bouchard predicted. "This decision will be the more conclusive, being received by an English Canada awakened from its illusions of a rejected federal centre and better prepared for the idea of a sovereign Quebec entering alongside, as an equal into a new partnership."

He categorically ruled out any other possibility, no matter how remote. Asked directly if he favors any conditions under which he would be willing to settle for a deal that would keep Quebec in-

Bouchard's candidacy will be decided by a meeting of the party's executive council on Dec. 9. Barring unforeseen problems, Bouchard will be crowned PQ president and sworn in as Quebec premier by the second week of January. A promised by-election will follow, permitting Bouchard to take a seat in Quebec's national assembly in time for the opening of the legislature's spring session on March 12. There is not even any doubt about where Bouchard will run, thanks to a standing offer from Josephine MSA Francis Dufour to step aside. "It's the best parting gift I can bestow on my constituents," said the 60-year-old Dufour last week.

Bouchard, who represents the nearby federal riding of Lac-Saint-Jean, does not disagree. "I thought it was my natural riding," he commented. "That's where I grew up, where I went to school. My family, for the most part, is still there. It's where I know the names of the streets and the names of the children who have now grown into adults. If I'm elected to the leadership, I'll be going back to France."

Once safely installed as premier, Bouchard has vowed to provide Quebecers with good government before seeking his own mandate in a provincial election, much less embarking on yet another referendum adventure. It is a daunting task, given the precarious state of Quebec's economy and the housing crisis in the province's public housing. Quebec's debt of \$78 billion represents the highest per capita of any province—more than \$10,000 per person. Last year's budgetary deficit was \$3.7 billion, and all economic indicators suggest that the \$3-billion deficit forecast for 1995-1996 is hopelessly optimistic. The average tax burden in the province in Canada and rising, with the top-100-percentage-point hike in the provincial goods and services tax, is 7.5 per cent, that the PQ announced in the wake of the referendum. Unemployment is running almost two full percentage points above the Canada-wide average of 9.4 per cent. As well, the province has 480,000 individuals and families on welfare.

At the same time, last week's agreement by Canadian Pacific Ltd. that it was shifting CP Rail's head-quarters—along with 236 high-paying jobs—from Montreal to Calgary, reflected the most recent in a long parade of major corporations to abandon the province (see page S2). "The mortgage of constitutional uncertainty has not been lifted," complained Ghislain Delbecq, president of the Council du patronat, the province's major employers group. "The business community expects a more dramatic result in the referendum. Instead, we are again in a wait-and-see period."

Judging from his remarks last week, Bouchard is well aware of the problems. In listing the priorities that will drive his government, he made "the necessary reorganization of state finances" as the highest. And while he indicated that would spell out his economic research more clearly in a speech set for Dec. 8, he did hint at the direction he will take when he presides over spending cuts in government services. "There is a social service that we must cut, but it might have too much to play in," he said. "If that commitment fell in the face of his repeated referendum promise to maintain social services, it was not the only one. In marked contrast to the letter of his now celebrated "magic word" speeches during the referendum campaign, Bouchard warned Quebecers not to expect "wonder" but, rather, "hard work and, without doubt, many sacrifices."

Bouchard's federalist adversaries are banking heavily on the

Bouchard with Best: There is a social safety net that we want to keep, but at the same time, we might have too much to play in."

sole Canada, Bouchard bluntly replied. "No, that is not possible. I am a sovereigntist."

He was not alone in sovereigntism in the country, in fact, since Bouchard is not only the de facto leader of the PQ but also the head of the Bloc in Ottawa as well. He indicated last week that he will remain in charge of the Bloc until he moves to Quebec City, a strategy that allows him to backstop his successor, thought by most to be party whip Gilles Duceppe. As for the PQ, the rules governing

prospects that the sacrifices awaiting Quebec's electorate will help to temper his now shining image. "He's soon going to face a reality check," said provincial Liberal leader Daniel Johnson. "And now he gets mixed in the actual business of managing. I think the public's perception of the man is going to change."

Certainly, Bouchard will be hard-pressed to avoid making enemies in his pursuit of setting Quebec's public finances in order, while at the same time attempting to preserve the social services held dear by the separatist's traditional allies in the trade unions. He is sure to lay much of the blame on the federal government's budget-cutting initiatives. But the incoming Quebec premier clearly has a program in mind, the outlines of which he traced.

last week. He wants to create a consensus in Quebec around the idea of a political and economic partnership between an independent Quebec and the rest of Canada. The results of the referendum do not stand that a majority of francophones in the province already support the concept. Now Bouchard will be reaching out to those who have so far rejected the notion. "We need a reconciliation of all the components of Quebec society," said Bouchard.

"He must embark together upon the path of economic development with the union, the public sector in concert with the private sector, women and men, academics and workers, the elderly and the young, municipalities, businesses and native people working side-by-side with francophones."

It may well be an impossible dream, particularly in view of the fact that Bouchard's fundamental objective remains Quebec's secession. But this underlying tone of his message marks a radical departure from the always partisan, ultra-divisive image that the separatists projected under Parizeau's leadership. There are other tell-tale signs that a new era is about to begin in Quebec, one that Bouchard's decision to leave the official residence on the long Rue des Bravos in Quebec City currently occupied by Parizeau and his wife, Lucette Lapointe. "I don't think this kind of residence is the kind of place in which to raise children," Bouchard said on his wife, a divorcee, moved by his wife, adding approval. If he wanted to score points with a leery public, he could not have picked a better target than Parizeau's much-mocked house. It may be nothing more than a symbol. But as Bouchard skillfully demonstrates during the referendum campaign, symbols can be important, no matter how controversial the message. □

CHANGING OF THE GUARD

In the five years since it sprung noisily into Canadian political life, the Bloc Québécois has picked itself out being a political party unlike any other. By definition, its 53 members are anti-federalist federalists. Though united by their wish for Quebec sovereignty, Bloc members have ideological spectrum, ranging from a former Communist (Gilles Duceppe), to former federal Progressive Conservatives such as Pierrette Venne and Michel Lebel.

All of which makes it appropriate that a party that is a non-party should now face

The Bloc's successor is Duceppe, 41, a cool and cerebral figure who is the party's whip and, after Bouchard, its best-known MP. He is respected but not particularly liked by other MPs from other parties or, for that matter, his own caucus. As whip, co-ordinating MPs' appearances in Parliament, the former labour organizer is regarded as rigid and unbending, while Lebel, recently publicly described as "a actual dictator." Other MPs who have publicly expressed interest include Venne and Francine Lalonde, a left-leaning former Parti Québécois cabinet minister under René Lévesque.

There is also the issue of the Bloc's future role in Parliament. Bouchard's departure will drop the Bloc into a tie with the Reform party for the second most seats. When that happens, Reform Leader Preston Manning says he will ask Commons Speaker Gilbert Parent to name his party the official Opposition, which would mean an addition of \$200,000 in annual research money and give it the right to take the lead role in daily Question Period. But it is not usually enough to cause a change in official party status—and it is virtually certain that the Bloc will retain Bouchard's seat in a by-election.

That raises the question of which party the Liberals would prefer to see as the opposition. Until now, many Liberals privately acknowledged they preferred the Bloc, because it allowed Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to show a taste for Quebec as the champion of federalism. But now, some Liberals would prefer to speed time taken on Reform. With public concern growing over the extent of the expected cuts in Finance Minister Paul Martin's February budget, Reform's even tougher deficit-reduction plans would, said an adviser to Chrétien, "make us look kindly by comparison."

In the post-Bouchard world, one other change appears certain. Under him, at times, the Bloc did so well highlighting Quebec issues that occasionally complaints that he played the role of a federal MP too well. "He could," said the same Bloc adviser, "almost be too good for our own good sometimes." Now that the Bloc is less defensive, and divided by ideology and personality conflicts, that is one worry that sovereigntists can dismiss.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Ottawa



Reform MPs sing O Canada beside empty Bloc seats in battle over Opposition status

the future with a non-leader leader. Even so, Lucien Bouchard promises to become premier of Quebec, he will continue as the official leader of the Mouvement Québécois until at least January. Until then, Bouchard made clear last week, he will not be amused by anyone appearing too eager to replace him. "I asked our MPs to wait, since it's clear that I will be in charge," he said. And even after that, under conditions outlined by Bouchard, the Bloc may have a new leader until April, 1997, when it holds its next general meeting.

If the party wishes, it could appoint an interim leader until 1997, which would leave Bouchard effectively in charge from the premier's bunker in Quebec City. In the meantime, five things are clear: whether interim or permanent, the next leader will know almost as little about the rest of Canada as the country knows about him or her, and the decisions within the Bloc will be much more apparent than they have been until now. "It's about to get much harder," concluded a Bloc adviser.

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The Gasphears with daughters Ashley and Nicholas regift

CANADA

Wading into the welfare mess

BY MARY JANIGAN

It is no easy task to tell the Gasphears what they already know about where they went wrong. And it is so hard to figure out how to help them. They perch, side by side, in a restaurant booth, vaguely out of place, wearing their positions as welfare recipients in a small Ontario town like uncomfortable coats. The family lives in substandard housing on the outskirts of Colborne, a picturesque community nestled 114 km east of Toronto along the shores of Lake Ontario. Brenda, 28, scrubbed floors at a local retail unit and complications following the birth of her second daughter made it difficult to perform physical labor. Her husband, Phil, 28, once held good jobs with companies that cleared drains from hydro lines. Since that work ended three years ago, he has bounced among assembly lines in small factories, layoffs, unemployment insurance and welfare. Now, the couple draws \$866 from the taxpayers every month, making \$219 for rent.

Their despair and their rage are woven through their conversation like black

As social assistance costs mount, the provinces move to put welfare recipients to work

threads. "They say that they should never, ever leave high school in Grade 10. I was a smart-ass," says Brenda. "I figured I could get a job and be all right. I found out it was different." After years of effort, she has completed high school. She hopes soon to have a job creating party decorations at a local catering firm. Phil is held a credit away from graduation. He dreams of getting a construction college degree in employment support so that he could help other people look for work. But his welfare caseworker says that he must find a job. Student loans will not cover his family's liv-

ing expenses. And although he papers the county with resumes, day after day, he has few prospects. "I used to be gone, 12 hours a day, five, six days a week," he recalls sadly. "Now, all of a sudden I'm sitting here, looking for a job. It does drive me nuts."

Something is wrong. For almost 30 years, Ontario and the provinces have played the proverbial role of brother's keeper, helping those who cannot help themselves. Yet most Canadians would agree that social assistance has failed the Gasphears—as well as the taxpayers who support them. The crisis has evoked greater urgency because the system is helping dangerously at the seams. Although provincial costs have multiplied, Ontario is cutting its contributions. In response, provinces such as British Columbia and Alberta are taking tough, highly controversial steps to deal with the hard fact that the current system costs too much and delivers too little. The very word "welfare" seems destined to remain a political hot button for the rest of the 1990s.

Perhaps surprisingly, the most sweeping changes are taking place in once-staid Ontario, where almost 64 per cent of the na-



You either have it

or you don't



Winkie with children Tari-Ara and Ched: 'You can't cut the kids, that is wrong!'

tion's 3.1 million welfare recipients live. Two months ago, Ontario slashed 21¢ per week from its basic welfare rates. This week, on Jan. 26, in a tough economic statement, Finance Minister Brian Ivens will possibly repeat the province's intention to devalued work in exchange for welfare after April 1, 1996. Ivens will emphasize that such plans are a key component of his government's multi-pronged program to revitalize the economy and to reduce the welfare rolls. Still, as most politicians readily admit, there is no magic way to turn ill-used, unemployed welfare recipients into working taxpayers at a time when provincial revenues are tight. As Ontario Social Services Minister David Tuckwell told *Maclean's* last week: "There are fiscal pressures. But if just throwing money at the problem was the solution, we would have to cut welfare today because the past two governments spent \$40 billion over the past 12 years. There is something fundamentally wrong with this system."

The gap between welfare and work is simply staggering. The Confederation-wide ratios here show that across Canada, as a whole, it is a nightmarish no man's land. These ratios do not match the labor market's harsh requirements. They look for steady, secure work that they are unable to find. Their beneficiaries, largely the middle class, have endured years of rising taxes, eroding job security and falling real wages. In comparison, they have washed the number of people who live off their tax dollars down. Since 1981, the number of recipients has more than doubled—from 1.4 million to 3.1 mil-

lion. The annual cost of these benefits has more than quadrupled, from \$8.2 billion to \$14 billion.

Worse, in most provinces and territories, single parents on single-parent couples receive far more from welfare than they could earn at minimum-wage jobs. In 1992, in a landmark report, the National Council on Welfare calculated that a single parent on welfare in Ontario with one child could receive \$20,999 per year that is, \$4,680 more than a job of 40 hours per week at the minimum wage—\$6 per hour throughout most of 1992—could provide. (Recent Ontario cuts have significantly decreased that figure—but a single parent remains marginally better off as a welfare recipient.) That same report pointed out that a single-parent couple with two children in Manitoba could receive \$20,529 on welfare—an astonishing 93.07 more than the minimum wage in that province. Such figures do not even take account of the time denied, eye and drag care that most recipients receive.) These findings suggest that the system seems purposefully designed to discourage work and self-improvement.

As Sherril Tugman, vice-president of the Caledon Institute of Social Policy, told *Maclean's*: "It is difficult for people to find a job that provides enough income to support their families. Many families are actually better off in the welfare system."

employable must participate in retraining, job search or other educational programs. Thirty-two American states are experimenting with programs that largely involve work or training.

The Ontario plan is perhaps the most influential and, perhaps, the most popular. Premier Mike Harris campaigned heavily last June on the promise that all able-bodied welfare recipients—except the elderly, the disabled and mothers with children under the age of 3—would be required to work, train or go back to school in exchange for their cheques. He handily won a majority government. Since then, there have been stormy protests, including a door-slamming demonstration in the Ontario Legislature. In contrast, Tuckwell has been blessed with demanding frequency, at one point advising welfare recipients to shop for cheaper, donated time of day.

But the government has not backed away from its commitment. Tuckwell told *Maclean's* last week that he will introduce or expand a wide selection of training and work projects throughout next year. The government could ask service clubs and municipalities to identify community needs such as bicycle paths that welfare recipients could construct. It will strengthen other programs into educational programs such as literacy or high school equivalency. It could have existing job placement agencies that now receive money from business and ho-

In desperation and some frustration, governments throughout North America are turning to "workfare"—requiring recipients to work for their welfare cheques. They reason that decades of passive support have fostered dependency—and simply increased the gulf between welfare and work. Ideally, workfare would ease welfare recipients into the labor force, restoring their battered self-confidence and upgrading their rusty skills. In Alberta, Premier Joseph Klein has stipulated that welfare recipients will be cut off if they refuse jobs in such programs as Alberta Community Employment, which provides recipients with 26 weeks of work, performing such tasks as interpreting for citizens and computer groups. Quebec offers higher benefits to those who accept work or training. Last week, it cut an additional \$100 from the monthly cheques of able-bodied recipients who refuse work. British Columbia is cutting benefits by up to \$300 per month. It will also demand that every recipient who is deemed



Harris: a popular solution protest

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dustry to invest, and train workers. These agencies will be paid to line up prospective private employers for welfare recipients—possibly on a monthly basis, meaning before they start work. Most important, agencies that offer employment training will not receive the bulk of their fee until the recipient is placed in a job. As Tynbush stated, "What we have to do is to employ training programs to jobs so you might call for job performance."

So far, voters seem to approve. Last month, pollsters at Angus Reid Group Inc. reported that 66 per cent of Ontario residents applauded the government's performance. Thus, it added the disconcerting observation that 57 per cent of those with household incomes below \$30,000 disapproved of the government. In other words, there is a widening gulf between the haves and have-nots. Angus Reid's senior vice president, John Wright, says that welfare Ontario residents are not less compassionate; they are simply so preoccupied with their own economic plight that they have little time or money to spare for others. As a result, he says, "welfare cuts are keeping the Conservatives high in the polls. Dave Tynbush may not know all the words but he is singing the right tune, so he is going away with ratings right now." Adds a Tory insider: "The protests are keeping the focus on an issue that is clearly helping the government."

Still, Ontario's approach is likely to be controversial. The very notion of welfare-to-work sparks heated debates that touch upon the intrinsic value of labor, the right of the state to require work and the so-called jobless recovery that has afflicted the developed world. In a 1995 report, the Ontario welfare will simply shuffle the labor force like a deck of cards, forcing stagnated recipients into minimum-wage jobs and throwing higher-paid people out of work. The problem, they say, is with the labor basket. It is unbalanced, with too many severely unskilled workers in October. For five decades, the percentage of those unemployed has grown steadily—while the number of high-paying, low-skilled jobs has shrunk. Werna Lynne Tynbush, executive director of the National Anti-Poverty Association, "has not taken your opinion of welfare until you can get to the more fundamental issue that there are not enough jobs for everybody who wants to work."

Welfare advocates do not pretend that the market will work unaided. At worst, they say, it will ensure that welfare recipients keep their work habits and receive their skills. At best, it would function as one part of a carefully crafted labor force strategy that provides proper training, adequate day-

care and income supplements for the working poor. Under that scenario, the ability of the unskilled would become skilled. The best method would limit jobs that, in combination with income supplements, would supply a living wage. The employer's commitment to work and education would be restored. The welfare cycle among gener-



Tynbush: "If just throwing money at the problem was the solution, we would have no one on welfare."

'Work is extremely important for the stability of families'

tions of families would be broken. An Susan Fraser University economist John Richards maintains, "The provision of income with out work on a long-term basis destroys people's self-respect. Work is extremely important for the self-respect of people and the stability of families."

In practice, the relatively slight evidence on welfare is mixed. It does appear to reduce welfare caseloads and to increase participants' income when up-front investment events are made in training, employment preparation and competent day care. Economist Richards examined 15 cost-benefit studies of large-scale U.S. welfare experiments that were conducted throughout the 1980s. Almost all of the programs significantly reduced benefits if recipients did not participate in a face-month program of job training, job search and welfare expertise. Ten of the experiments produced modest welfare increases for the participants. 17 saved taxpayers' money through reduced caseloads and reduced payments. At present, the most ambitious welfare program is in Wacacata, where Gov. Tommy Thompson has made

huge investments since 1986 in child care, training and work readiness. The state now saves \$2 in benefits for every \$1 that it spends to make people employable.

There are few comparable Canadian experiments. Since 1983, Alberta has cut spending on social benefits by about \$500 million, to \$3.3 billion. Almost \$200 million of that saving was put back into training, employment support and increased child benefits. But the province has done no formal studies to determine the role of welfare in that decline. Quebec's PAIE program, introduced in May 1990, substitutes employment for welfare recipients in the private or public sector for six months. A study by policy analyst Elizabeth Reynolds for the Institute for Research on Public Policy in Montreal found that program participants have worked for longer periods than non-participants, and more of them got off welfare. But more than half of the participating private firms said they would have hired someone to do the work anyway. (They may not, of course, have hired welfare recipients.)

Still, the trend towards welfare appears inevitable—if only because welfare budgets are shrinking. Since the 1950s, Ontario has contributed no to 50 per cent of the cost of provincial social assistance. In return, Ottawa has stipulated that the sole criterion for welfare must be need. But these rules will change on April 1, 1996, when Ontario replaces its shared cost programs with a single lump-sum payment, the Canada Health and Social Transfer. Over the next two years, that transfer will decline by about one-third from the \$56.8 billion as costs that Ottawa now transfers usually fall on health, postsecondary education and welfare. In return, Ottawa has sought to retain only one condition on welfare provisions must not impose a residency requirement. Even that fragile rule has already been violated. Last month, British Columbia announced that it will impose a three-month residency requirement as welfare applicants. The popularity of such delusion means that the provinces will almost certainly set more conditions as social assistance after April 1. Says the Gazette in Ottawa's Bureau: "It could be open season on welfare recipients."

Such conditions may be popular because some Canadians lump all welfare recipients into the same category: friends. And unfortunately, that means last year, Ontario saved \$60 million by by forcing up the admission of its 30-billion system. Investigators attributed most of the problems to dental overpayments. They detected one right found in only 1,029 of the 266,000 files that were examined. Still, Ontario's post-advertently discovered three examples over



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Daddy, If the theory of relativity is taken as constant, and π is set at 3.1416, then why is it when light is refracted across a spherical plane, time itself decreases?



a three-week period in two cases, couples temporarily separated, the wives applied for benefits as single parents, then the husbands were required to support the families. In the third case, a single mother earned unexpected income through housecleaning. And although such cases are rare, almost every Canadian seems to know someone who, in some way, is dipping off the system.

The danger, of course, is that disgruntled taxpayers will tar all welfare recipients with the same brush. But welfare cannot work unless recipients are viewed as truly needy individuals who ought to be treated with dignity. Experts say that the solution to that dilemma lies in measuring suspicious Canadians with strict controls on fraud. Bob Scott, spokesman for the Alberta social services department, told *Maclean's* that his province added 32 fraud units and hired two former senior police officers to run its Edmonton and Calgary offices. "We now recover \$6.38 for every dollar that we spend on fraud mitigation."

Such strict procedures might persuade Canadians to view welfare recipients and the jobs that they perform with respect. Workfare could no longer be perceived as a punishment—but as one measure among many to insure fractured lives. In such circumstances, governments would face increasing pressure to find the up-front investments to make workfare really work. First, experts say, governments must revamp their inadequate and often incomplete training programs. Second, employers should simplify their recruitment to encourage the working poor. There are many potential offenders. Richards, for one, suggests that Ontario increase its \$200 per year earnings supplement for low-income working families.

Finally, and perhaps most important, most experts agree that adequate child care must be available. Alberta has 23,000 acreages and 400 profit spaces with a vacancy rate of 34 per cent—so that parents have considerable choice. Parents in welfare programs do not pay a cent for child care. Ontario, in contrast, has cut full funding for 14,000 day care subsidies. The province has even suggested that welfare parents could leave their neighbours to look after their children, comparing up a daycare centre on available, very scarce and cramped children rarely went out to work. That prospect terrifies Toronto's Lacinia Balcane, who has two small children in subsidized day care at \$90 per week. Desperate to get all welfare, Balcane is taking a 16-week part-time course in breadmaking—which she knows through her own monthly cheque of \$1,050—and she spends "every available second" seeking work. Balcane worked for the Times in the last provincial election—and she still

desperately applauds their determination to cut the deficit and to restore the welfare system. But she will not vote for them again. "After Harris had my full support until he threatened day care," she says. "Cut everywhere you can, but you can't cut the kids. That is so wrong!"

In the end, it is perhaps best to view workfare as only one small part of the solution to a highly complex problem. Workfare cannot solve the intractable problems of a jobless recovery and an untrained

workforce. It cannot eliminate need. It can not, tragically, protect Canadians to exercise the neighbourhoods of the past where families watched each other's children and banded together in hard times. But if it is used with other measures to encourage training and job creation, it it treats its participants with dignity. It fosters the notion that no job is demeaning and all jobs are worthy, it eases the unbearable slide of whole families, generation after generation, into dependency. As the experiments begin, Canadians can only hope that workfare improves the welfare of all citizens. □

**Here with
Addison:
residential**

found her part-time work as a retail clerk in a suburb north of Toronto. Now, she spends three hours a day commuting to a job that brings her home back to roughly what she received before the cutbacks. "But the job only lasts until Christmas," she says. "I'll have to look for another one in January."

Leggett is worried and discouraged. "It's like I'm taking a step backwards," she says. Even with a part-time job, she is no further ahead financially and says she has lost an opportunity to upgrade her skills. "I want to be a child-care worker," says Leggett. "Now, it's going to take longer for me to finish school and get off the [welfare] system, which is what we all want. I don't want to be sitting at home all the time."

But when Rae, who is a friend of Leggett's and lives just one block from her, returned to work last August—before the 21-per-cent welfare cut—it seemed that, financially at least, staying at home might make more sense. Rae, 32, earns \$1,258 a month as a co-ordinator for a Toronto-based theatre company. But she has to pay \$400 a month in rent, \$60 for public transportation and about \$4 a month for subsidized day care for her son. Address: "Without the subsidy," says Rae, "I would have a substance living."

Even though she survived on government assistance for about a year after she lost her job as a hairdresser in 1994, Rae has mixed feelings about welfare. "I can see how people get stuck in a rut," she says. "It's easier to sit back and let the money come in while you wait for a higher-paying job." And she confesses to a lingering resentment against welfare recipients. "I may pay my taxes, but they're not working," she says. "You know, going to the park, watching the soap." For all of that, the two women still share one important concern: speculation that the Harris government will reduce day-care subsidies for parents on welfare and eliminate them entirely for full-time workers. If that happens, Rae may have no choice but to stop raising and look after her child—and to join her neighbor on the public dole.

Harris appears to be achieving his goal of pushing welfare recipients back into the workforce. Leggett, for one, who has collected social assistance since 1991 when her daughter was born, managed to find part-time employment when she first heard about the cuts. In early November, a relative



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CANADA

Ralph Klein blinks

Since launching his ambitious deficit-reduction crusade two years ago, Alberta Premier Ralph Klein and his senior ministers have had a four-word, mantras-like response for the chorus of critics who argued that provincial spending cuts were inflicting too much pain: "We are not blinking." To a remarkable extent, Klein's Conservative government managed to survive—and even thrive—amid a range of angry protests that brought students, nurses and public sector workers to the steps of the Alberta legislature. But last week, all that changed when a weeklong walkout by provincial hospital workers gave voice to a feeling on one among many Albertans: that the government's spending cuts—at least in the field of health care—had gone too far. And, in the end, Klein blinked.

The check in Klein's senior began, improbably enough, when 120 hospital laundry workers staged an illegal walkout on Nov. 34 in Calgary after learning that their jobs were to be contracted out to the private sector. The laundry workers, who earn an average of \$8.80 per hour, had already accepted wage



**Faced with
labor strife,
Alberta backs
off health cuts**

*Klein: public support
for an illegal strike*

cuts of up to 36 per cent in exchange for what they believed would be job security. Within days, more than 2,500 hospital and nursing home support workers had also taken to the picket lines, forcing most Calgary hospitals to cancel everything except emergency and intensive care services. Alberta's 10,000-member nurses' union also considered joining the strike, which threatened to spread across the province. Moreover, the walkout appeared to have strong public support: many Albertans driving by the picket lines honked their horns in support.

Klein, who had cussed for months about the possibility of seeing down the rate of

spending cuts and "reinvesting" in areas such as health care and education, was quick to respond. On Nov. 22, the government announced that it was cancelling a scheduled \$50 million in health-care cuts. "We're taking a bit of a breather," conceded Klein, who added that the moves would help the system recover from the \$600 million that had already been taken out of the annual health-care budget since 1993—and that resulted in thousands of layoffs, bed closures and longer waiting lists for elective surgery.

Klein insisted that the decision to scale back health-care cuts had nothing to do with the Calgary strikers. But most analysts agreed that Klein—who prides himself on being a populist—had no choice but to respond to public fears about the deteriorating state of health care. "There is a sense," said University of Calgary political scientist David Taras, "that enough is enough."

On Friday, the strikers agreed to return to work after reaching a deal that will see plans to contract out laundry services shelved for one year. But union leaders warned darkly that unless the government backs its health-care cuts, it could still face a protracted strike by health-care workers. In that event, Klein would have to decide if it is better to blink—or to take his province to the brink of a medicare meltdown.

IRISIAN BERGHEIM with JOHN HOWSE
in Calgary

WHEN THE GAME IS OVER...



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What Matters in Canada

Canada's X-files

Perhaps the best way to understand Canadian politics is to compare it to an episode of the television sci-fi series *The X-Files*. In both, strange things regularly occur that are inexplicable to the average mortal—but it doesn't matter, because nothing is ever resolved anyway. Consider last week's plot line: First, Lucien Bocharard, the partner and premier of a province that recently split down the middle along its constitutional future, insists that Quebec remains "united," while the rest of the country is divided. Then, Jean Chretien, the Prime Minister of Canada, said he wants to give Quebec official recognition as a distinct society and a veto over constitutional changes—even though there is little support for the notion outside Quebec. But so anti-Chretien can't give the pills so exc-

BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

BY ANTHONY
WILSON-SMITH

ing, he hasn't had to worry about how to achieve that. But the *X-Files*, without less rhetorical magic, is much more likely to find that reality bites.

Reform: Factum three—a cohesive strain of English-Canadian thought on constitutional issues. Through both accord and design, Reform now find themselves in potentially the best position of any major federal party for the next two years because the big two issues—deficit-cutting and getting ready for a possible free without Quebec—are so much they've been preaching for many years now. True, there are in both are still more extreme than the mainstream in English Canada. But with Chretien's position as federalism's champion weakened by the referendum, and public frustration growing over the dialogue of the deal between Quebec and Ottawa, Reform, at the least, seems certain to have established a permanent place in the country's political ferment.

The Liberals: Even when it is a minority, it is a formidable, the political compass. In one corner are Chretien, his staff of talented Québécois advisers and aides, his Quebec MPs, and his cabinet, who are beholden to him. On the other side of the coin are more than 230 MPs from outside the province who left that out of the referendum debate, and are determined not to let the same happen next time. For now, the differences make the party as likely to remain passive. The real test will come about a year from now, when MPs start to consider the some next steps toward a federal election, a crucial first minister's constitutional conference in 1997, and the reconfiguration of another Quebec referendum in the same year.

The truth is out there, as the *X-Files* Fox Mulder likes to say. But, as it also says, trust no one. Not a bad notion for the new constitutional episode that lies ahead.

N.W.T. GETS NEW PREMIER

Ned Martin, a Métis entrepreneur, was chosen premier of the Northwest Territories in a majority vote by the 28 members of the territorial legislature, which operates on a consensus basis without party politics. Martin, 48, who represents the Western Arctic riding of Tuktoo, is an eight-year veteran of the legislature and a former minister of public works. He said the new administration needs to reduce the government's \$3-billion debt and redirect spending on children and education.

RED CROSS IS NOT SORRY

The Canadian Red Cross is still refusing to apologize for the thousands of Canadians who received AIDS-linked blood from the society in the 1950s. "I just don't understand why the 'X' word is impossible to utter," asked inquiry lead, Justice Harcourt Kniver. But Douglas Lindsay, secretary general of the Red Cross, told the hearing the best policy is to defend the organization, until "some action requiring an apology is proven."

SHEILA COPPS DEAD THREAT

A Hamilton man accused of threatening to kill Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps was held in custody after missing a last court appearance. Thomas Patrick Seynck, 46, issued his threat on Nov. 16, while visiting the office of Copps's mother, Hamilton Ald. Geraldine Copps. Seynck became male after an office worker refused to give him information about the senator.

PARKINSON'S VICTIMS AIDED

Darkinson at Toronto Hospital said that some patients with Parkinson's disease are showing significant improvement after undergoing a procedure that involves surgically drilling a hole through the skull to remove a brain lesion believed to be the cause of the disease. New computer technology allows doctors to pinpoint the exact location that malfunction is the brain of Parkinson patients.

A KILLER STRIKES AGAIN

Police in Vancouver say that a letter threatening the wife of Vancouver Councilor Captain Trevor Linden was likely written by the same man who killed 18-year-old Tanya Smith on Oct. 14 and raped her friend Marilyn Cockburn, age 15, of nearby Abbotsford, B.C. The rambling letter described the lives of Christina Linden and two others. It also makes several references to the Smith case, in which the killer later phoned the police to boast about the murder.

Canada NOTES



Stagehand John Crocker reacts to the announced cuts: nearly 2,000 jobs gone

Making deep cuts at the CBC


And concerns about its future, the CBC's president, Pierre Beatty, announced that the network will cut nearly \$225 million from its \$1.4-billion budget in 1996. The cuts will eliminate nearly 2,000 of the 9,000 jobs at the CBC. At the same time, Beatty said that the CBC will drop all of its prime-time *Newsweek* programming by September, 1996. Beatty said that Canadian viewers can watch U.S. shows on a number of other television outlets and that the CBC should be doing more to promote Canadian content. Although the move to eliminate U.S. programs will cost the CBC revenues, Beatty said they would be made up through "efficiency measures." Jim Boyd, vice-president of English television, said that several new Canadian shows are in development and a number of new dramas will be tested this winter.

But representatives of CBC unions argued that the spending cuts are far too large to be offset by changes in the network's programming mandate. Arnold Arner, vice-president of the Canadian Media Guild, said that the cuts are so deep that the CBC will no longer have the manpower to produce top-flight programming. "We're at the edge of disaster,"

said Arner. Still, Beatty said that the federal government's decision to cut spending across the board had to include the public broadcaster. "We have to face the problem," said Beatty, "that the Canadian debt problem is not going to go away."

Gun law passed

After a last-minute plea from relatives and friends of the 14 women who were pointed down by Mann Koppe at Montreal's Expo Polytechnique on Dec. 5, 1989, the Senate approved controversial gun control legislation that will require Canadians to register virtually all their guns by 1998. The upper chamber rejected Conservative amendments that would have exempted the legislation from June by the House of Commons. The new law, which Prime Minister Jean Chretien said would help defang wild Canada from the United States, will allow police to seize guns that are stolen and later used in crimes. But opponents of the bill say the registration of firearms will be costly and inefficient and that the new law will impose a hardship on law-abiding people in rural areas, such as hunters and native people, who use guns regularly.



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The historic pact on Bosnia will test the deal makers—and NATO

WORLD

A FRAGILE PEACE

BY CARL MOLINS

After 42 months of civil war and thousands of "ethnic cleansing," the map of Bosnia is patterned with shapes as random as spilled blood. Borders along the former Yugoslav's heretofore mainly ethnic battle lines, that date from the strategy that took effect on Oct. 11, but some of them have shifted and reshaped over time. A constellation of former warring tribal territory by manipulating verbal reality issues of Bosnia's terrain as a computer screen at an airbase in Dayton, Ohio. Parts of the land exchanged had only recently been falling ground. The bloodless map-making in Dayton is now central to a peace pact being used by U.S. pressure by three Balkan presidents who had abandoned their roles as war makers and as war's end.

In fewer words than now, if the pact that the leaders initiated on Nov. 21 proceeds as planned, a U.S. led international army will launch an effort to turn verbal reality into actuality. The 60,000-member force—mostly NATO troops, one-third American, potentially some Canadian—will be required to disarm and secure the fragile boundaries between new Serbian republic and a fledgling Federation of Muslims and Croats under an ill-defined central Bosnian government in the capital, Sarajevo. U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, weary from sleepless hours pondering the mutually suspicious problems of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia towards accord at the Dayton air base, put an optimistic spin on the fragile peace agreement. "It offers tangible hope," he said, "and there will be no more days of deadly bullets, no more winters of freezing drags, no more years of isolation from the outside world."

Along with hope, the map and the agreements (signed in 23 Dayton days and nights by the three leaders—Bosnia's Alija Izetbegovic, Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic and Croatia's Franjo Tudjman)—now doubts and signal dangers. Making the Dayton accord work requires rapid military enforcement of its territorial terms. That task falls to the NATO Implementation Force—IFOR, as it is already code-named. It will replace UNPROFOR, the ill-fated UN protection force, which still was often a war victim during three years of striving to protect civilians. By contrast, said U.S. state department spokesman Nicholas Burns, "FOR

will be a very aggressive force, it will be a strong and overwhelming force in the region—and no-one ought to feel around with that force."

U.S. officials expect Canada, which last month pulled out of UNPROFOR, to join IFOR's massive operation to demilitarize hundreds of warring elements of Bosnia's warring warring country. Prime Minister Jean Chretien's government is under heavy pressure from Washington and other NATO capitals—and from within the Canadian military—to commit troops to the new peacekeeping force. The state department's Burns, stressing IFOR's strengths at a Washington brief, noted that "the Americans and the British and the French, the Canadians and the Germans on the ground are professional soldiers, competent soldiers who will do the job well." (Does that mean the Canadians are no longer Serbs, while saying that way to the Canadian government, replied: "There is an expectation that Canada, which has long been engaged in the past, will participate in the future.")

The next day at Ottawa, Clinton sounded cautious. "We have been asked," he told reporters, "and I'm indicating to you that we are willing to go down, but it depends on the type of role and what we're needed for." Then he added: "They might ask for something that we're not equipped to do, or we won't want to do." Within the defense department at Ottawa, there were unspoken indications that any Canadian commitment to IFOR would be in the order of 800 to 1,000 mechanized troops.

In divided Bosnia, an area the size of Nevada South with more than half a people ruled by nearly four years of ethnic war that has left 260,000 dead and three million driven from their ancestral homes. The troops may well have to deal with responsibilities fostered by what Burns called "unsustainable structures" against Bosnian civilians—Muslims, Serbs and Croats alike.

Among Bosnia's Serb leaders in their headquarters city of Pale, there was a sense of triumph. The Dayton accord awards the Serbs, who control less than one-third of Bosnia's population, almost half of Bosnia in two tracts. One borderless Croatia in the north, the other runs alongside Milosevic's Serbia in the east. That zone includes the former Muslim communities of Srebrenica and Zepa, both nearly totally ravaged by the Bosnian Serb army in July.

But the computer map-making in Dayton deferred a decision on a link between the two Serbian states in the northwest, while it widened the Muslim-Croatian and corridor linking Sarajevo to Gornji Rad. And the Dayton exchange took away from the Serbs their heavily held strongholds in southeast Sarajevo. Most of the leaders in nearby Pale have homes in Sarajevo. The wife of Dayton delegate, Miroslav Krizanovic, is based there. If the loss of Sarajevo, he is reported to have conceded to a friend, "it was as dry heart has been torn out."

Other leaders prostrate despair and anger among militant Bosnian Serbs. Their leadership is divided, part of a now distant from Pale in both space and attitude—about 150 km across Muslim-Croatian territory in Banja Luka. There, deputy Serbian army chief Milan Gvero played his support for the Dayton agreement—adding, however, that "in the circumstances, it is a maximum that could be achieved." The pact drew fiery lines from public office the two most powerful figures in the Pale faction—Radovan Karadzic, the political leader, and Gen. Ratko Mladic, the military chief—by disavowing anyone charged with war crimes. Both men have been indicted as war criminals by a UN tribunal. Serbia's President Milosevic, for years their mentor, has abandoned his crusade to create a "Greater Serbia"—not least publicly for now, but possibly, diplomats in Berlin say, not forever.

Concession troops on maneuvers (left); Milosevic, Tudjman and Karadzic of installing ceremony, Dayton



Milosevic all but renounced the Bosnian Serb representatives in Dayton, saying that he was not ready to sign. Although he insisted that the capital area be open to all ethnic groups, delegates Karadzic and his colleagues protested against the placement of Sarajevo and its Serb-held suburbs entirely in Muslim-Croatian territory. "No one has the right to give away territories that we drained with blood," said Karadzic. The American turned his condemnation, however, and the Bosnian Serbs declined to attend the signing ceremony in Dayton. But two days later in Belgrade, Serbia's capital, Milosevic presided at a protest meeting in persuading the Bosnian Serb leadership—including Karadzic and a deputy of the ethnic Gens. Mladic—to sign on to the Dayton accord.

The delayed consent finally convinced the Bosnian Serbs to assenters that all parties will cooperate with NATO's IFOR operation. But diplomats in Belgrade remain doubtful that the Dayton pact will mean as much as the predicted curfew of Bosnia—whereby Serbs would gradually absorb the Bosnian Serb republic and Croatia would effectively control of the Muslim-Croatian Federation.

For now, however, Milosevic and the Serbs have a compelling reason for leaving the Dayton line—an American-led force is laid on a economic boycott and military sanctions imposed on the regime by the United Nations. The carrot is also in tact. The Americans must that any backsliding will provoke a renewal of the sanctions and the boycott. Dennis Blumenthal, Can-

ada's veteran charge d'affaires in Belgrade, observes that "Milosevic's line was being laid to the fire."

Some military experts believe with Bosnia note that there remains a degree of control triggered by renegade guerrillas and individuals—and the reaction of IFOR forces under their aggressive rules of engagement—held neither Canadian Maj Gen Les MacKenzie, an IFOR-100 commander in Sarajevo in 1992. "There are thugs and criminals who will ignore the agreements. The U.S. will need to be there. The problem is that they won't know who is doing the shooting. Somebody on one side might have bribed somebody on the other to take pot shots at Americans. It's that screwed up."

The land of bitterness that could have caused rancor beneath the compromises made in Dayton—only hours after testing on the days of failure, Bosnia's last hope. It had been isolated as an in peace that morning over details of the division of territory (40 per cent to the new Serbian republic, the rest to the Muslim-Croatian Federation). The Muslim leader finally accepted a solution that includes having international arbitration determine the control of the Serb-held border town of Brcko, which stands at the great point of a narrow corridor between the two main sections of Serbian land. That he ruled the pact a mere bludgeon for Bosnia's Muslim plurality. "This may be a post peace," he said, "but it is more just than a continuation of war."

Others anticipated—sometimes after showing matches—in increasing pressure and fatigue in the isolation of the spartan life. It led to Dayton's Wright-Patterson air force base. The American diplomat team led by Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. assistant secretary of state who brokered the U.S. peace mission in Dayton, credited its reputation management, because sometimes described as "refining in pain." It works on emotions as much as reason. It encourages breaking and free of despair to drive the shattered group to agreement.

As later detailed in American accounts, members of the U.S. team set deadlines that heightened tensions. Late in the game, they circulated what they called "a failure document" that was really for public use in the absence of compromise. They compiled lists of charges highlighting the benefits of peace. And they reduced limited agreements over territory to a kind of computer game in a theater that participants dubbed "the Yugoslav Chess." There, Milosevic and others manipulated a joystick to assess along electronic displays of Bosnian terrain originally de-

"NOT JUST A CONTINUATION OF WAR"

As soon as the Dayton peace pact is signed in Paris in mid-December, 60,000 NATO troops will move in to the war-ravaged nation. They must enforce a peace in which a Muslim-Croatian republic and a Muslim-Croatian Federation share an elected central government in Sarajevo. Highlights:



released for NATO bombing rehearsals. Aerial or computer calculated allocations of land to each side. Dilling the whole process were can valid law rights in an arbiter bar.

At one point, after angry reactions, Croatian Tajman, 73, asked the Serbs some Croatian army conscripts in western Bosnia that were gained only weeks earlier. As another, Milosevic's officials balked at granting Serbians the release, and their leader proposed that the city should be united rather than split between factions and be open to all ethnic groups. Only three years ago, Milosevic, 54, was branded a war criminal by the U.S. state department for financing Serbian ethnic cleansing drives. But now, President Bill Clinton and state department officials lauded him for playing a positive role in achieving the peace agreement.

And the mutual congratulations in Dayton, the state department's hard-driving Balkan hawk said that the toughest part of the mission has yet to be launched.

"The paper we have peace" he said. "To make it work it's our next and our greatest challenge." For a start, Clinton must convince a fractious Congress, the American people and U.S. allies that the plan is workable. The President, as the U.S. commander-in-chief, does not require congressional permission to deploy military forces. But he has proceeded to consult and seek the support of Congress, where many fellow Democrats as well as the Republican majority have resisted intervention by American troops in the Balkans. In Europe, there has been grumbling over the American endorsement of the Bosnia case. The Dayton accord remains to be fully concluded at an summit in Paris soon. It seems debate at a summit of the U.S. and European Union leaders on Dec. 3 in Madrid.

During the four-day American Thanksgiving holiday, which began two days after the signing of the Dayton accord, the President prepared a Monday-night television broadcast from Dayton to Europe. His address to the nation was designed to support his claim that dispatching 20,000 American soldiers into battle was in the nation's vital interests. Clinton's main points are that it is in America's world leadership, fulfill its NATO obligations to Europe and Europeans, and as a debt repaid, "the moral responsibility to act in defense of international values."

After persuasion has the task of enforcing the accord on the disputed ground of Bosnia Herzegovina. And beyond that challenge remain the urgent questions: whether the results of a sustained Dayton will prove as head-on as actually as it seemed on the Day too computer screen.

Bob LANE PHOTOS in Ottawa and LOUISE BRANDON in Belgrade

WHEN HOME DISAPPEARS

Refined police officer Miro Djakula, 65, had tears in his faded blue eyes as he recalled the home where, until recently, he had lived all his life. "The best thing about it was the wonderful garden I loved the best, the fresh air. Friends in the navy used to bring me black plinks." Now, in the offices of the Helsinki Committee in Belgrade—where hundreds of people crowd daily to fill in unofficial claim forms for the property they left behind—his lost belly aches. "I want to go back home," he said. "Each man wants to die where he was born. I want that too."

Last week's Bosnian peace accord in Dayton, Ohio, should, in theory, make Djakula's dream possible—a dream shared by some three million other refugees. The agreement

mandated my husband I used to have Muslim friends, but not any more," said one emigrated Bosnian Serb woman in the eastern Bosnian town of Zvornik, which was once 80 per cent Muslim but was ethnically cleansed by Serbian forces three years ago. She said Serbs, many of them refugees, have moved into Muslim houses and that they "will never give them up—the town council gave them the right to be there."

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees says it is preparing for the mass return of displaced people from March next year as guaranteed by the Dayton agreement. But it is unclear how many will go back: up to 3.2 million people are thought to be refugees. Those who have registered, numbering 2.6 million, include 1.3 million in Bosnia, 600,000 in neighboring republics and 700,000 in the rest of Europe.

Officials say the probable outcome is a de facto exchange of populations. "The stress that people will have to go back voluntarily," says Belgrade's UNHCR spokeswoman, Tina Anderson. "But if people do not want to go back because of traumatic experiences, we will look at their registration in the places where they are." An international conference in London in December is expected to set up a program governing the reconstruction of property and the return of refugees.

The human drama of the coming months promises to be intense. "This is a terrible agreement," said Goran Grljac, a 24-year-old Bosnian Serb who lives in the Vlasovica district of Sarajevo. His dream, now in Bosnian Serb hands, will be put under the control of the Muslim-Croat federation. "I hope our leaders will fight it. But if they don't, I will have to leave. It will be terrible, difficult. But I would not be able to stay."

Authorities on all sides in the conflict routinely give "displaced" houses to refugees. In some areas, the real owners are likely to return to settle their claim, with potentially explosive results. This is especially so, say refugee officials, in Eastern Slavonia, the last slice of Croatia still in rebel Serbian hands. Under the terms of the Dayton agreement, Croatia is in regional control of the region with the backing of NATO forces. The main city, Vukovar, was the site of the worst fighting of the Croatia war. Thousands of Serbian refugees from Bosnia and other areas of Croatia have since moved in. "The threat is going to be some bloody fighting," says one UN official. "Croatian refugees want to move back in and they are full of bitterness against the Serbs—I don't see how the two can ever live together again."

LOUISE BRANDON in Belgrade



Bosnian Serb refugees on the move in September, 1995

provides for their return, whatever their nationality—Muslims, Serbs, Croats or a mixture. But, as so often in the Yugoslav wars, the agreement on paper does not quite match the realities on the ground. Djakula yearning to return to his house outside Rom in the Muslim region of Croatia, 400 km away, may never be realized.

The past, as many people in ex-Yugoslavia are now learning, is a different country—the postwar place where it was possible for different ethnic groups to live side by side. That country is gone. Djakula lost Koprivica last summer along with 200,000 other Serbs, in the face of a Croatian advance. Many of the Serbian houses in the region have been burned or destroyed. Others have been given to Croatian refugees driven out by Serbs. The hatreds and emotions stirred by the horrors of the Yugoslav wars—massacres, ethnic cleansing, neighbor turning against neighbor—have divided the region along ethnic lines that are not just political. They are also burned into people's souls.

"I would never accept a Muslim back into this town—not after what they did. They

Goodbye, Lech

An ex-Communist deposes Solidarity's Walesa

The vote was close, nail-bitingly close. Last week, Polish voters narrowly elected a smooth-faced, middle-aged, ex-Communist to the presidency of Poland, ousting Nobel Peace Prize winner Lech Walesa and ending an era in Polish politics. Even Alexander Kwasniewski's senior handlers could hardly believe that their candidate, only 41, had toppled the legendary Walesa, who at the last minute, were still being counted.

The ever-lazy Walesa, 52, however, would have none of it. With an eye on parliamentary elections due in 1997, he vowed to work tirelessly against the new president. "Kwasniewski will get a blow on his jaw," Walesa declared. "Now, I have a lot of time to travel across Poland and with the Poles against Communism."

Such comments seemed to signal that the election had done little to calm Poland's turbulent political scene. Against a backdrop of economic reforms as sweeping as they are known in "shock therapy," the country has endured three parliament elections, five governments, and five general elections during Walesa's five-year tenure as president. Poverty has spread, and unemployment has risen to nearly 16 per cent from virtually zero in 1989. To devote a 55-year-old man to lead a decade of a new general economic growth rate in record years, one of the highest in Europe. Privatization, the centerpiece of the reforms, has slowed, but the economy is still run by the state.

During his presidency, Walesa also came to be widely known as quarrelsome, obstinate, and ultimately, destructive. In 1993, disaffected voters turned back to the left, electing a parliamentary coalition dominated by former Communists, and throwing the right, led by Walesa, into disarray.

But this time around the turnaround, as unstable and restructuring Kwasniewski, Poles were clearly attracted by his promises of political stability and wiser prosperity, which

seemed more realistic than those of Walesa's opponent in 1990. Canadian businessman Stanislaw Tytusinski, who now runs a small electronics company near Warsaw, many voters willingly overlooked Kwasniewski's past as an eager young Communist. He became a *marx* after he left Poland's Communist government, which collapsed in 1989 under pressure from Walesa's Solidarity trade union.

Immediately after the Communist defeat, Kwasniewski's credibility. They are suspicious of his emphasis on appearances—he is known for his year-round suit, apparently radius supply of good suits, and preference for playing tennis and going to discos with his fashionable wife. He was also lauded for being less than candid about his American-style campaign. It clamped that he did not have the academic credentials he claimed, and that his wife may have profited from insider dealing. To his critics, Kwasniewski is a political opportunist, comfortable with any ideology and driven only by ambition.

Walesa, on the other hand, seemed deliberately to avoid discussing Polish voters with overall. He consistently harped on the evils of the deposed Communist regime and claimed that Kwasniewski was surrounded by "thugs." His overt alliance with the Roman Catholic Church also seemed distasteful to many. He told one television journalist, for example, that if abortion were legal, as Kwas-

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RED TIDE

In the lead-up to the Dec 10th ball and the Soviet Union involved, experts led by Stanislaw and Communist like Lech Walesa were common at the former Soviet Bloc. But in Communist have made a comeback—often, but Alexander Kwasniewski exploiting reform—and may win the Dec 17 parliamentary elections in Russia. Key members that have returned to lead back.

- Azerbaijan
- Belarus
- Bulgaria
- Hungary
- Lithuania
- Poland
- Slovakia

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IRELAND OPTS FOR DIVORCE

Ireland voted to end its 50-year-old constitutional ban on divorce last past Sunday. An official referendum recount at week's end showed that 50.3 per cent of the 1.6 million ballots favored the Yes side, a margin of about 5,000 votes. The emotional campaign—in a country where 82 per cent of the 3.5 million citizens are Roman Catholic—featured Pope John Paul II and Mother Teresa campaigning for the No side. Under the new law, couples will have to be separated at least four years before breaking their vows.

BATTLE FOR JAFFA

The 1st Lebanon Army scoured into southern Lebanon City as it tried to end the 12-year fight between the two sides of civil war. The ethnic rebels showed the government advance on their northern stronghold by shelling down a military airplane with 52 people on board. But the government forces cut off a key supply route that had been a lifeline to the 2,000 Hezbollah fighters held in the city. By week's end, most of the Tigers and Jaffa's 120,000 civilians had fled.

TARGETING EGYPT

Islamic militants were blamed for a bomb blast at Egypt's embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, that killed 14 people and wounded 58 others. Cairo has mounted a three-year crackdown on the extremist Islamic Group, bent on overthrowing the secular government of Hosni Mubarak. Officials found the militants may now be moving their latest activities abroad.

ISRAEL'S NEW LEADERSHIP

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres named a new cabinet, appointing a rabbi as minister without portfolio to build bridges between religious and secular Jews. Police sanctioned Peres himself was targeted for murder by Yigal Amir, confessed assassin of former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin. But they backtracked from their broad-conspiracy theory, saying only Amir's bad-karma was the plan.

A NEW DEAL

Both the White House and the Republican-controlled Congress debated whether when they reached a budget agreement that allowed U.S. federal government services to resume after a 30-day shutdown. The pact confirmed President Bill Clinton to help balance the budget by the year 2000.

A House-aided Nobel Prize nominee, Wei is considered the father of China's democracy movement. He was a key dissident leader in the late 1970s when Beijing's poster-fied "Democracy Wall" provided a short burst of free expression. Last week's action brought protests from the UN Human Rights Commission, Roman Rights Watch Asia, and Amnesty International, which urged U.S.

World NOTES



PROFANATION DE L'ÉGLISE, LA DÉGRADATION DE LA CULTURE, NOS RETRAITES, LA PROTECTION SOCIALE, LES SALAIRES ET L'ÉDUCATION AVEC LES FONCTIONNAIRES ET LES SALAIRES DU...

NON TO CUTS: Demonstrations in Paris were among millions of public-sector workers who paralyzed France with a 48-hour nationwide strike against planned cuts to public spending. It was the second time in two months that workers have shut down banks, schools, government offices and public transit systems to protest Prime Minister Alain Juppé's plan to slash social services and government jobs. Juppé is bent on reducing the country's \$49-billion budget deficit.

A voice silenced

China's top dissident, Wei Jingsheng, was formally charged with sedition after being held by police at an undisclosed location for 28 months.

Jing's decision to bring criminal charges against Wei indicated a move to keep him out of active life, where he is a magnet for pro-democracy forces. A conviction will bring another long prison sentence for Wei, who was released from nearly 15 years in jail. During his brief period of freedom, Wei spoke out against the regime and met with U.S. human rights expert John S. Shattuck.

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President Bill Clinton to take up the case. Analysis questioned, however, whether Washington would lobby as strongly on Wei's behalf as it did for Henry Wu, a Chinese-born U.S. citizen detained in June and later expelled.

Mexican scandal

A political murder mystery deepened when former Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari's mistress was arrested while trying to withdraw \$113 million from a Swiss bank account. Swiss officials, who are investigating "several Mexican accounts," said the arrest of Paulina Gansone was connected to a massive drug-trafficking operation. Castañeda was caught using documents that carried her husband Raúl Salinas de Gortari's photo, but another man's name. Raúl has been in a maximum security prison outside Mexico City since February, charged in the murder of a top Mexican politician. Prosecutors have not directly connected former president Salinas to either the drug or murder investigations.

PATRICK CRONIN/ALAN GOODMAN/TEXNEX or Miami



CP Rail announces a move to Calgary—and another wave of layoffs

DOWN THE LINE

Ever since the first CP train pulled out of Montreal on June 28, 1988, bound for the new province of British Columbia, the Quebec Pacific has played a dominant role in the nation's corporate mythology. And so last week, when CP Ltd. announced that it was moving its railway headquarters from Montreal to Calgary—a part of a counterweight reorganization that will eliminate 1,450 white-collar jobs—reaction was swift. In the West, commentators linked it to a sign of a major power shift westward, proof that Calgary is off to the move. In Montreal, locals bemoaned another blow to an economically beleaguered community and endorsed the timing of the announcement, less than a month after the Quebec referendum. And yet, CP's announcement appeared to be based not on automaking or breeding but on simple business realities. David O'Brien, president and chief operating officer of the railway's parent company, CP Ltd., pointed out that 80 per cent of CP Rail's business is in Western Canada. "It was a business decision that arose out of a need to consolidate and reduce staff and to be closer to the centre of our business," insists O'Brien. "In the Canadian way, it can be taken apart and viewed very politically—but this was not a political decision."

In fact, the CP announcement—coming just days after the \$22-billion announcement of Canadian National Railways in the biggest initial public offering in Canadian history—is just the latest development in

a massive reorganization of the country's rail industry. Both CN and CP have faced fierce competition over the years from American railways and from truckers, especially in Central and Eastern Canada, where the two railways say they have been losing money since the late 1980s. And both have gone through several waves of downsizing and cost reductions. "The railway business is a very mature industry and traffic isn't growing very much," observes Bill Waters, an associate professor of transportation at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. The railways, Waters adds, have been forced to become more efficient to improve their returns.

Investors apparently think the two companies are on the right track. At the end of the week, CN shares were trading at \$20.85—\$4.63 above the offering price of Nov. 17, privatization day. CP shares were at \$24.75—\$1.30 above their closing price before the restructuring announcement. Still, some analysts expressed concern about the industry's long-term prospects. "I think the railways are making valiant efforts to improve productivity and I think they're making good," says John Hinch, director of the University of Manitoba's Transport Institute. But Hinch warned, "They've still got a long way to go."

In the meantime, the CP reorganization will have "personal" not just corporate consequences. The latest move will save the company about \$200 million a year by eliminating a quarter of its executive,

CP Rail train in Calgary: a need to consolidate

managerial and other administrative staff in Montreal, the company is abolishing 484 jobs and relocating another 226 to Calgary, in Toronto, 580 jobs will be abolished and 287 moved. Workers will also be laid off or transferred from Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Albany, N.Y. And even those workers who expect to be rehired in new jobs in Calgary face old doubts: decisions. Real Paquette, 42, a merchandising clerk who has worked for CP in Montreal for 23 years, expressed concern about abandoning his family's roots in Quebec. "I worry about being all alone there, about being an expatriate," said Paquette. Eric Paul Marston, a 36-year-old crew dispatcher in Montreal, says that he, too, is fairly confident he will be offered a transfer. Still, his girlfriend's family is in the city "and they are very important to her," he says. "And she would have difficulty speaking English. But if I lose my job, she can't support us well—there are options to make and it's not easy."



In addition, many Montrealeers seemed concerned that CP had delayed its announcement until after the referendum to avoid influencing the vote. CP officials denied any such coercion. And most commentators appeared to accept that the move itself was firmly rooted in business considerations. Even Daniel Paillé, the Paris-Quebec industry and commerce minister, agreed that was the case. But Paillé noted that supporters of the No side had argued during the referendum campaign that separation would bring job losses. "Even though the answer was No," he said, "CP cut anyway—it goes as an idea of the value of what was said during the referendum campaign."

CP Rail will continue to employ 2,540 people in Montreal. Calgarians, naturally, were delighted with CP's move. The company plans to transfer 732 employees to Calgary and to hire about 100 additional staff locally. Cyle boosters were eagerly calculating the potential positive impact on the local economy and other spinoffs from the move. Mayor Al Duhaime expressed sympathy for the "people involved in this decision." But he said that Calgarians "have been through some very difficult times themselves," and "are now reaping the benefits of past sacrifices." He pointed out that since CP takes up 75 per cent of the city's 30 of Canada's top 750 companies, measured by annual revenues, will be headquartered in Calgary. That would put it as the only one in Toronto, with 118, and third in Montreal, with 69.

In addition to consolidating administrative staff in Calgary, the reorganization will make the CP Rail System a wholly owned subsidiary, rather than merely a division, of CP Ltd. That will give the railway direct access to capital markets and expand its options in such areas as mergers or joint ventures, that the CP Rail of the future

will be a much smaller version of its former self. When the current reorganization is complete by the end of next year, CP Rail will have trimmed its payroll to about 27,000 employees, down from 34,000 in 1985. The company has also knocked about 3,000 km out of its roughly 34,000-km-long track system.

But both railways still face challenges—especially now that several U.S. competitors are seeking to merge in the hope of finding even greater efficiencies. Both Canadian railways have been cutting costs, and both are currently profitable. But their operating ratios, a key industry yardstick that measures the railways' operating expenses as a percentage of revenues, are by now in the 90-percent range. Most of the major American railroads boast stronger performance, with average operating ratios of 80 per cent or lower. In part, that is because the Canadian industry has had to maintain branch lines in low-traffic areas. Although both companies do well transporting bulk commodities over long distances in Western Canada, there are problems in the eastern portion of their operations—where there is fierce competition from trucking and express rail companies. In 1994, CN and CP executives spent much of their traditional negotiations to merge these eastern operations. When that failed, CP moved unilaterally to buy CP's eastern unit outright.

As part of CP's reorganization, the company is forming a new eastern operating unit in Montreal that will be responsible for the Montreal-Chicago corridor and the Delaware & Hudson Railway, a CP subsidiary in the northeastern United States. And some analysts now work suggested that CP could be positioning itself to eventually shut down or sell those unprofitable operations—a possibility that concerns consumer groups. David Glastonbury, president of Transport 2000 Canada, an Ottawa-based advocacy group for public transportation, points out that CP created an Atlantic unit several years ago and eventually sold those operations. "If it didn't pay, we could see the same thing happening for the eastern operations that they are selling up," insists Glastonbury.

Company officials counter that they are committed to rebuilding their eastern business with new technology and other efficiencies. And they say that the creation of what will essentially be a regional railway will allow the group to focus more closely on the major challenges that operation faces. Still, O'Brien concedes that "whenever you're losing large sums of money, you have to start looking at your alternatives." That might include sharing some lines or other facilities with CN, but it could also include a complete sale of the eastern unit.



O'Brien in Montreal: "This was not a political decision"

months ago was that some form of consolidation between CN and CP in the East probably made the most sense," O'Brien said last week. "And I don't know of anything that would change that judgment." However momentous the developments in the railway industry this month have been, it seems clear that the reorganization—and downsizing—of Canada's railways is far from complete.

MARY McNEIL is in Calgary with JEFF WATKINS in Montreal

Sex, ties and bias?

Do women who start their own businesses suffer discrimination by virtue of being locked out of the Old Boys network? The answer, in many minds, is all too obvious. Earlier this year, a study for the Canadian Federation of Independent Business concluded that women were 20 per cent more likely than men to be refused a business loan, and that women who did obtain financing routinely faced higher borrowing costs. Back in the 1980s, both the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women and the Small Business Development Bank reported claiming that women entrepreneurs had a built-in disadvantage because of bias on the part of suppliers, customers and creditors, lack of contacts and perceived lack of credibility. Case closed, right?

In fact, like a lot of beliefs that have held sway over the years into conventional wisdom, this one may be due for a rethink. Recently,

A new study says women business owners are adept at playing the Old Boys network

three sociologists from North Carolina—a man and two women, as it happens—published their own research on the real-world experiences of women entrepreneurs, in a report for the Washington-based Small Business Foundation of America. Their conclusion: “Women now appear to be as good at playing the Old Boys network as the Old Boys themselves.”

The researchers, led by Howard Aldrich of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, completed 217 women and men interviews in an area of the state with a large number of high-technology companies. Business owners were asked whether, during the previous year, they had sought legal help, financial or accounting assistance, business loans or advice from someone with experience in their same industry. Other than the fact that men were more likely to have asked for legal advice, there was no significant difference between the two groups.

Nor was there evidence to support the prevailing view that women business owners tend to turn to family members far before rather than work associates. Both groups leaned most heavily on friends and business associates, and were equally willing to approach strangers when necessary. “If you look at the recent books about women in business, you’d conclude that

PERSONAL BUSINESS

BY RUSS LAVER

there are huge differences between men and women in their use of business contacts,” Aldrich says. “But our results show that when women entrepreneurs identify a need, they are just as aggressive as men, just as likely to put themselves on the line and just as determined to always help from the best qualified people. They’re certainly equal players.”

Perhaps we shouldn’t be too surprised by these findings. After all, some of Canada’s most successful women entrepreneurs have reached far into conclusions, based on personal experience. “We’ve been at this for 20 years, and I can honestly say that gender has never been a factor, with the banks or anyone else,” says Dawn MacLennan, co-owner of Superior Vintages Group Ltd., a Vancouver-based printing and personal company with 130 people and annual sales of \$1.2 million.

She and her partner, Virginia Gosselin, recently won a Canadian Women Entrepreneur of the Year award for lifetime achievement. Another winner, in the start-up category, was Beverly MacIntyre of Design, N.S., president of 1994 International Development Inc., which has 25 full-time workers and annual revenues of between \$1 million and \$4 million.

“I certainly don’t feel gender has been a barrier,” says MacIntyre, whose two-year-old company offers technology training and research. “Yes, there’s still an Old Boys club out there, but you can’t let it influence you. And I will never allow myself to fall into believing that things would have been different if I was a man.”

That’s not to say there aren’t still problems for women who act up their own companies. Considering that women now account for 31 per cent of self-employed Canadians, and that roughly half of all new businesses are started by women, it seems odd that there was only one woman among the 10 national recipients of the better-known Canadian Entrepreneur of the Year awards, handed out this fall by Gov. Gen. Roméo LeBlond, and only four women among the 51 regional winners. MacIntyre is right: the Old Boys club is still very much in operation. But if Aldrich’s study can be believed, women are no longer shy about pounding on the door.

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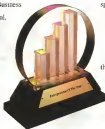
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It is with great pleasure that we at Ernst & Young, Canadian Business magazine, Bank of Montreal, Nesbitt Burns, McCarthy Tétrault and Air Canada celebrate the men and women of the hour — all the participants in the 1995 Entrepreneur Of The Year program. Their drive and determination



to succeed not only epitomize the spirit of entrepreneurship, but also provide living proof that Canadian entrepreneurs are among the world's best. And that makes all of them winners in our eyes. Congratulations to — and all, and best of luck with all of your future endeavours!



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Business NOTES

INVESTMENT RULES RELAXED

Ottawa has raised the limit on the share of Canadian cable and broadcasting companies that can be owned by foreigners. The new rules will allow the industry to raise more money from investors outside the country while keeping control inside Canada. Foreign investors now will be able to own up to 33 per cent of cable and broadcasting holding companies, an increase from the current ceiling of 20 per cent.

REICHMANN IN MOSCOW

Real estate developer Albert Reichmann is launching plans to build a massive commercial and residential complex in Moscow. Known as Encouragement Place, the project, to be jointly owned by Reichmann Asia Co. Ltd. and the city of Moscow, will include a pair of 20-story towers and a large retail and leisure complex. Reichmann is the former president of Toronto-based Olympia & York Developments Ltd., which originally proposed the project in 1990. Givv collapsed in 1992 amid a worldwide slump in the real estate market.

QUEBEC'S BRAIN DRAIN

One of Quebec's largest aerospace companies faces political instability making it exceedingly difficult to hire and keep engineers and technicians in the province. David Coplan, chairman of Pratt & Whitney Canada, said the company is now recruiting 200 engineers from across Canada, but most prefer its Toronto facility rather than its main operation in the Montreal suburb of Longueuil.

BOOK SUPERSTORE PLANNED

Bortone Group Inc., a giant U.S. bookstore chain, plans to open its first Canadian store in downtown Toronto next spring. Canadian bookellers say that competition from such mega-chains threatens to kill their industry. Heather Newman, a prominent Liberal and former president of CIBC Corp., is likely to act as one of Bortone's Canadian partners.

SPENDING CRITICIZED

The federal government has dished out nearly \$4.2 billion in regional job-creation subsidies since 1988 with little assurance that the money was spent wisely. Auditor General David Desautels says in his annual report, Desautels and that in many cases the grants were counterproductive because they killed jobs at real companies. The report also warned that taxpayers who file millions of dollars in tax returns are not getting the most out of many millions of dollars.



A ROGUE'S RETURN: Risk Lesson, the rogue trader who helped to break Britain's oldest bank, is arrested in Singapore on fraud charges linked to the \$1.9 billion in losses he amassed betting on the Japanese stock market. Lesson fled Singapore on Feb. 23, four days before Barings ran collapsed. Bruno March, Lesson had been fighting extradition from Germany. But he released after investigators in Singapore issued a report putting some of the blame on his superiors.

Cott goes pop

The fizz has gone from Cott Corp., the Canadian soft-drink manufacturer that until five years ago was a hot with international investors. The Toronto-based company announced that it was laying off about 220 of its 2,000 employees, taking a \$40-million hit for restructuring and slashing some product lines, including potato chips and pet foods. "We're going back to our roots, and we're going to start back the business," said Gerry Fraser, Cott's chairman and chief executive officer. The announcement triggered a stock market sell-off, pushing the price of Cott shares down by 24 per cent to 38, compared with a peak of nearly \$60 in 1990. Fraser added that Cott has shifted plans to expand into France, Germany, South Korea and other countries, although 31 factories to remain in the 14 countries where it already does business.

Cott was a stockmarket favorite in the early 1990s, after signing lucrative contracts to supply store-brand soft drinks for retailers such as

Leblanc, Safeway and Wal-Mart. But since then, Cott's profits have been battered by fierce price wars against industry giants Coca-Cola and Pepsi. At the same time, some analysts have accused the company of using misleading accounting methods and issuing unrealistic profit forecasts.

In the money

The profits of Canada's Big Six domestic banks jumped sharply in fiscal 1995, industry watchers say. Most analysts expect the banks' collective earnings to top \$5 billion, up from \$4.1 billion in 1994. Toronto-Dominion Bank, the first to declare results for the year ending on Oct. 31, said its profits hit a record \$704 million, compared with \$685 million a year earlier. Last year, Royal Bank of Canada became the first Canadian bank, and only the second Canadian company of any kind, to report annual profits of more than \$1 billion. This year, three banks seem likely to exceed that benchmark: the Royal Bank of Montreal and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.



A new Magna Carta for corporate Canada

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Ward that the microeconomic policy analysis branch of the industry and science policy sector at the Industry Canada department in Ottawa will launch a new study next week seems almost as noteworthy as being told that the latest Bosman peace plan may not survive into December. In fact, the 500-page federal report is one of the most important documents to clutter all government printing presses in many a season.

Despite its seemingly modest guise, the study amounts to nothing less than a new Magna Carta for the orderly and enlightened governance of corporate Canada. Titled by Ronald Daniels, dean of the law faculty at the University of Toronto, and Randall Morlok, a professor at the University of Alberta's business faculty, the book brings together the writings of 20 contributors, mostly academics, who have produced valuable and groundbreaking studies of such phenomena as how to reward corporate "whistle-blowers," less-than-ideal workers who report wrongdoing (quite the reverse of most companies) and the governance of multinational and conglomerate who believe they ought to be allowed to behave according to their own rules.

The report is trenchant on conglomerates, referring to them as shell games. "Their underlying problem," the authors of one chapter write, "is that they are much more difficult to manage than focused operations. This undercuts their main advantage—allocation of the group's capital to where it can earn the highest returns. By controlling inter firm dividends and allowing member companies to lend to each other at non-market interest rates, conglomerate managers can reduce profits from one firm and increase them in another, where they own most or all of the stock—a kind of corporate shell game. The founders who control the conglomerate thus enrich themselves at the expense of public shareholders."

If adopted, this report's controversial options would turn the business sector upside down, giving shareholders and employees an even break

It concludes "Canada's corporations are largely closely held, and as such, dealing with controlling shareholders is the central issue in Canadian corporate governance. The primary goal of public policy in this area should be the empowerment of shareholders and outside directors." In specific studies of the country's two largest conglomerates, BCE Inc. of Montreal and Hewlett-Packard of Toronto, the authors conclude that BCE Inc. has experienced only a marginal profit performance and that the company is protected from a possible takeover by its size—it had assets of \$37 billion in 1989. They also tackle the 10-year crisis created by the Hewlett-Packard machine and conclude that it performed "no better than independent firms of similar size," but that its component companies were exposed to much higher risks, through both higher leverage and higher risk business strategies.

"A corporation is a legal fiction," the two editors point out in their executive summary. "It has the rights and responsibilities of a legal person, yet it is owned by shareholders, and has complex contractual links to its employees, creditors, customers, suppliers and the community. These are well-defined,

legally enforceable contractual commitments. However, the shareholders have no such contractual rights. Rather, they are residual claimants." It is a document written not by businessmen who have a personal stake in advocating changes that will favor their bottom lines, but by academics who have the freedom to call the shots as they see them. If adopted by Ottawa and the provinces, the 25 major options presented in this report would turn the business sector upside down, giving shareholders and employees an even break. Titled *Corporate Governance Making in Canada*, the report deals in sometimes overwhirling detail with how various policies would advance the central issue of inter-sectoral accountability. These are among its main points:

1. The definition of outside directors ought to be tightened, so that those people who have no contractual links whatever with their firm's controlling shareholder.

2. Corporate cities should be paid partially or completely as stock options. These options would replace salaries, not supplement them, and boards of directors should not be allowed to reverse terms of such options after they are issued.

3. Directors of corporations should be liable to class action suits by shareholders, but that liability ought to be subject to a due diligence defence: in other words, directors who are found to have exerted reasonable efforts to uncover and prevent potential harm would be protected from legal action.

4. Ottawa should review various federal and provincial regulations affecting minority shareholder rights to ensure they enjoy effective and rational protection against abuse by controlling shareholders.

5. Directors of any public Canadian company with a dissenting shareholder should be required to have a "conduct review committee" composed entirely of outside directors to approve significant non-arm's-length transactions and contracts. Such a committee should be liable to class action suits by minority shareholders if it deliberately misleads them.

6. Directors and executives who blow the whistle on corporate misdeeds ought to be protected by the law from reprisals, and rewards ought to be offered to encourage their activities. "Whistle-blowing bonuses increase the effectiveness of sanctions by raising the probability that misconduct will be detected," the authors write.

7. Directors should be liable, and the liabilities of all shareholders, having five per cent or more of a company should be disclosed.

8. Corporate governance disputes ought to be settled by arbitration.

These and the many other options set out by the report could bring about reforms as much of what's wrong with corporations in Canada. But first there has to be a government in federal office with the guts to implement them. And who knows, we might even get a national securities commission, which has been at Ottawa's wish list for at least 30 years. Miraculous happen

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PEOPLE

A NATURAL FIT

Call it a case of life imitating art. For the better part of 1990, Edmonton's actress Michio Ouchi worked on a documentary dealing with her Japanese-Canadian grandfather. He was a Vancouver newspaper executive who moved to the B.C. interior voluntarily and witnessed first-hand the devastating effects of the forced resettlement of Canadians of Japanese origin during the Second World War. Work on the project was interrupted, however, when the 28-year-old Ouchi landed a starring role in *The War Between Us*, an independently produced movie to be aired on Dec. 15 on CBC-TV. She plays Aya Kawashima, a Ysa-



Ouchi: nicely overlapping projects

cover-born Japanese-Canadian whose family gets uprooted and shipped to a camp in the B.C. interior, courtesy of the federal government. The movie, directed by Nan-crave-based Anne Wheeler, explores a blossoming friendship between Kawashima and a local woman, who is dealing with her own personal crises due to the war. "The opportunity to play this role has been incredible," said Ouchi. "I got the chance to retire when I had been researching

THE HEALING POWER OF MUSIC

As someone who has survived three bouts of cancer, singer Jacki Ralph Jamieson wants to tell other women that "a cancer diagnosis is not an automatic death sentence." She decided one way to get the message across would be to record a fund-raising CD, with the proceeds going to breast cancer research. But like Vancouver-based pop singer, who last had Top 10 hits, *Stay Awake* and *Fly Little White Dove*, fly, in the 1970s, is also a realist. "I hadn't recorded in 13 years and my name didn't have the clout," says the 51-year-old Ralph Jamieson. "So I approached names with clout so I could really make a difference." Many of Canada's leading female musicians—i.e., *G. Lang, Jann Arden, Geelie Dixon* and Sarah McLachlan, among them—readily agreed to contribute to the project. The result is *In Between Dances*, which has sold more than 50,000 copies since its late-September release, raising more than \$250,000 for the Canadian Cancer Society. Ralph Jamieson's message of hope is being heard.



Ralph Jamieson: a message of hope

COMING THROUGH IN THE CRUNCH



Ham: shedding his four-leaf

When it came to big games, he was a big bust. In a Canadian Football League career that has included stops in Edmonton, Toronto and now Baltimore, quarterback **Troy Ham** had lost his interceptions and lost Grey Cups, and lost both teams. But the 31-year-old Florida native

steered his past failures last week by guiding the Baltimore Stallions to 31-20 victory over the Calgary Stampeders in the 1995 Grey Cup in Regina. Ham was named the most valuable player in the game as the Stallions became the first U.S.-based team to win the 80-year-old trophy. "I work hard," Ham said afterward. "I don't know if I can ever shake some of the things the media says about me." Not having had to rest the doubts about his ability to win a championship, Ham had to wrestle with another question: would he and his teammates be second to defend their title? The Cleveland Browns of the National Football League are moving to Baltimore for the start of the 1996, and the Stallions will be spending the winter looking for a new home.

FOR ADULTS ONLY

In 1950, Lindsay May Abbott achieved fame and fortune with the publication of *Little Women*, a novel that has remained popular with young readers ever since. But two years before that, Abbott, then 34, had written a novel for adults, *A Long Pencil Love Chase*, that her publisher rejected as "too sensual." In 1993, Abbott scholar Kent Rickwood, of Scarborough, N.H., rediscovered the yellowed, handwritten manuscript in a rare book store and took them to New York City-based Random House, Inc. And while the language in the recently published *Love Chase* is full of Victorian-era flourish-



es, it's also about a woman even obsessively staring at her own breasts in a way that is scandalous in the year of the O. J. Simpson trial. Rickwood says readers should not be surprised by Abbott's choice of feminist subject matter. She was a suffragette, he notes, who wrote to support her family because her father, Anne Brewster Abbott, was a philosopher whose radical ideas earned him friendship with the likes of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, but seldom any money.

Rickwood's a gem from *Little Women's* author

Edited by EMILY JENNIS

GRAND ILLUSION



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The happy comeback of what's his name

BY TRENT FRAYNE

Past triumphs sometimes bestow a sizzle of genius upon sport's tall forebears that endures long after their teams have lost their lustre. Think of Don Smith winning the Super Bowl. Think of Tony LaRussa on World Series dugouts. Think of Glen Sather coach in Stanley Cup champagne. These days, such has been a stranger to success for a very long time. Still, the muscle chips

And then there are leaders whose teams have earned yet who are seen as lucky passers. Remember Rudy Floys? Long gone but still the only coach to win the Stanley Cup for the Chicago Blackhawks since 1938. Remember Al MacLean? Al led in Canada's to a Stanley Cup in 1971. Denial the playoffs the team's star centre, Henry Richard, called Al the worst coach he'd ever played for.

Similarly, through four successive Super Bowl years, who was there to join an accolade upon MVP, the Buffalo Bills coach, whose teams managed to lose all four visits to the American dream? It didn't seem to matter through four 16-game seasons and ensuing playoffs that Levy's teams reached the ultimate game. What was remembered was that what's his name had blown another one. In hockey terms, Levy was right there with Rudy Floys and Al MacLean.

And then a happy—no, a singular—thing happened. Levy developed prostate cancer. He was compelled to leave the Buffalo team's coaching duties to his assistants while he underwent surgery. Three weeks later he was back coaching in the Bills' best Atlanta and followed that victory with another one over the New York Jets. By then Levy had been the central figure in TV clips across the United States and Canada, the subject of praise and on mention of Super Bowl losses. Newspapers ran the 67-year-old Levy's picture, his face ached under a wooden tape pulled, his around his ears. Then *The New York Times* ran a rare profile. Overnight, his return from surgery brought

Overnight, Levy's return from surgery brought something four Super Bowl trips had failed to do—national attention without any stigma

something four Super Bowl trips had failed to do—national attention without any stigma.

This was in contrast to his soaring reputation 20 years earlier in Canada, where he guided the Montreal Alouettes to the Grey Cup game three times. The Alouettes have twice and missed a sweep by a single point when their fielded unit somehow managed to miss a mere 16-yarder with less than a minute left on the clock. This was in the frozen tundra of Calgary's McMahon Stadium in 1975, where the Edmonton Eskimos escaped by a 4-0 score.

Levy was an unassuming back then as he was in returning from surgery to guide the Bills when coaches asked him following the Atlanta game the difference between watching on television and coaching on the side line. "When you're at home, all you can do is give it a little body English," he told his audience. "Today, I had to make decisions about whether we should go for it or not. At home, I had to make a decision between potato chips and popcorn."

When he says things like that, a breakable lightbulb in Levy's black eyes. I remember talking to him once in his Alouette days when the team played in the old Astrodome as the

bulb of the St. Lawrence and his office was a gloomy cave under the stands. Back then, the Alouettes employed a ground offence featuring a bulky import, Johnny Rodgers, and Levy said he preferred the running game, not just because of Rodgers.

"When your quarterback throws the ball, three things can happen," Levy said. "And two of them are bad." As your agent absorbed this observation, Levy smiled. "I think Alouettes' success was the first to say that," he added.

It's odd Levy has never been elevated by the hardthinking series to the top echelon of National Football League coaches—up there with Miami's Shula and Tom Landry of Dallas, for instance, if not yet as venerable Vince Lombardi, the patron saint of all coaches. Levy is an entertaining and at times scholarly fellow with a master's degree in English history from Harvard, attributes that often charm media guests if not every ink-stained watch.

But the thing that happened to Levy was that following the 1977 season in Montreal, he was signed by Lamar Hunt, the wealthy owner of the Kansas City Chiefs, and signed a five-year contract as the coach of a team that could barely kick its legs. In 1977, they had won once and lost 12. As he'd said, he liked the running game, and he installed an unspectacular arm called the Wing T. The team responded nicely, but not enough. In Levy's fifth season, a player strike shut the league down. When it ended, the Chiefs lost four in a row, killing public interest. They drew 11,900 to their closing home game and Levy's contract was not renewed.

"The Kansas City experience and Marv's low-key personality have made it easy for him to be overlooked by the national media," Levy's former sports editor at the *Buffalo News* has covered every Super Bowl game (all XXIX of them) and has crossed the Prince Rupert into Canada for afternoon Grey Cup games. When he talks about Levy, he likes to point out that in comparison between him and Miami's Shula, Marv has won 15 of the 38 times their teams have met.

In these days of increasingly wealthy athletes, the trade for coaches is not as much putting the right suit and tie on a blackboard as building playing cards in this area. Former Alouette Levy to Ohio Browns, manager of the Toronto Blue Jays. "Their success is built on how they've handled temperamental players. Cito had Dave Wickers, Joe Carter, Robbie Alomar and Jack Morris. In Buffalo, when you've got Jim Kaat, Thurman Thomas, Bruce Smith and Carpenter Bennett, you're dealing with major league egos."

Levy's calm manner lends a sense of security to at least some players. Careerback Thomas Smith told former he felt a sense of loss during the three years when Marv was recovering from surgery. "It was like when you see a little kid and they look away your teddy bear," Foster said, quipping the player and chuckling. "Now who ever thought that about St. Vincent Lombardi?"

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What Matters in Canada

The princess rattles the royals

REPORT FROM LONDON

BY BRUCE WALLACE

There were those who believed—and how many it seems in hindsight—that she would take the high road with her husband, be circumspect about the in-laws, and spare Britain's tattered monarchy a further rippling. How very, very wrong they were. By the time Diana, Princess of Wales, wound up her 35 minutes of televised psychotherapy (technically, a special edition of the British Broadcasting Corp.'s current affairs show *Panorama*), the Palace was a shambles. Diana threw the china. She kicked the antique furniture. Then, she rode a grenade or two under the throne before screaming out, slapping the draw bridge behind her and vanishing—no, vanishing—that she would be back.

Sly Di no more. This was Hurricane Di, giving a devastating performance of a wounded, troubled, yet clearly confident princess who will not, as she put it, "be snijet" into exile. The mini-riot, staged in the drawing room of her Kensington Palace home and later syndicated around the world, was the first chance to hear Diana's well-rehearsed version of what went wrong with her fiery 66th marriage-of-the-century to Prince Charles. The answer, it seems, is not far from the unofficial version that she and "close friends of the princess" have been leaking to Britain's tabloid press for the past few years.

She said that her husband (9) took 23 minutes after Diana called him "Charles" and she never did again had been selfish, put her all in it, but that her popularity was greater than his, and reacting about her struggle with bulimia. The princess said that she no longer expected to be queen—and left no doubt that she thought Charles ill-suited to be king. "There



was a jolly sound bite on the prince's affair with Camilla Parker-Bowles, which he confessed in a TV interview that was last year's installment of this fit-for-tat marital war. "There were three of us in this marriage," Diana said with a neutral smile. "So it was a bit crowded." But she "admitted the honesty of his confession," and so went on to candidly acknowledge an adulterous affair of her own. "Yes, I admit that. Yes, I was in love with him," she said of her relationship with royal officer James Hewitt. Since details of the affair had been published last year in the scrupulously fact-checked *London Evening Standard*, the confirmation should hardly have surprised anyone. But the British tabloids pressed to be shocked, shocked, to learn of infidelity behind palace walls. And some members of the House of Commons, who have themselves so greatly contributed to the

Diana on TV, labored to hear the low: "It was a bit crowded."



Queen Elizabeth II, the Queen Mother (below): a family roused in tradition



Prince Charles, Parker-Bowles (right), Hewitt (below left): fighting a fit-for-tat marital war

antics of British sex scandal, splattered demands that the couple divorce. As for Hewitt, the proper punishment was death by hanging, according to Tory MP Neil Hamilton, citing the Treason Act of 1351, which makes it illegal to "violate the wife of the heir to the throne."

Hewitt went into hiding after the interview and will probably survive, but the Wilsons' marriage clearly seems headed for divorce, despite Diana's

tearing and accused therapies. She has cultivated a circle of savvy advisers like Australian TV personality Clive James and associate British businessman Richard Branson, and sampled treatments ranging from holistic massage to colonic irrigation.

Her confidence that Charles thought of her as an idol "There is no better way of dressing a girl of social class than to waste it," she explained, often tucked firmly into her collarbone. The mission she learned her arms and legs during the depths of her unhappiness? "You have so much pain inside yourself," she replied, "but you try and beat your self on the outside because you want help, but it's the wrong help you're asking for." Low self-esteem had made her bulimic, she said. But throwing up food was just a symptom of her bad marriage. "I was crying out for help," she now believes, "but was sending out the wrong signals."

It was a breathtakingly fearless performance that provoked a stunned response from one of Charles's closest allies. "I found it shocking and dreadful,"

said Nicholas Soames, the prince's former regent, adding that Diana's comments smacked of "unhinged scraps of paranoia." Soames was not the only top psychologist. "My instant reaction was that she is completely unstable," said Ingrid Seward, editor-in-chief of identity magazine and author of seven royal books including the 1989 biography *Diana*. "She's undergone a great deal of analysis and I kept thinking, 'That's her shrill, screaming.' Have you got on TV and say these things?" But Seward held the minority view last week.

Shy Di no more. This was Hurricane Di—wounded, yet clearly combative.

protections that she does not want one. "What about the children?" she said. "Our boys—what's what matters." Left unanswered was how any child could expect to benefit from the combined union of parents who parade their marital crises on television (after which the public is poised to ascribe who is most to blame). Speaking out, said Diana, was a way to measure "the people that matter to me—like men on the street—because that's what matters more than anything."

The effect was as if 21 million British women—and millions there around the globe—had been invited to square arms at a corner of the couch as the patient unwound herself to her doctor. (A royal protocol, it was said, that Charles did not watch.) With interviewer Martin Bashir required to do little more than prod her along with questions like "Why do you think that?" or "What happened next?" Diana showed off what she has gleaned from her recent years of gaudy

Most instant opinion polls were sympathetic to Di's demure job on the Royal Family. A 1990 poll found that 72 per cent of British agreed that the Windsors had badly treated the princess, up from 49 per cent two years ago. "This was a resounding victory for Diana, and a victory," said London's lead pop culture columnist guru Mica Clifford. "All those cynical commentators who said beforehand that she was committing suicide by granting this interview have been proven totally wrong. She did a brilliant job. She knows the British people better than they do, and the British people are right behind her."

In fact, Diana portrayed the royals as an even more dysfunctional family than had been imagined. According to the princess, no advice was ever offered on how to handle the royal ropes, no praise was given for a job well done. "But it's expected, that I inevitably did because I was new at the game, a lot of bricks came down on me," she told Bashir. Her postnatal depression after the birth of



Prince William was ignored, she alleged. Working under the stress and with no one in the household willing to hear of her demands, she "broke into the kitchen." The Windsor's response to her tirade could have been lifted from the script of *Mousetrap*: "I suppose you're going to waste that food later on," was how Diana quoted their reaction.

As several prominent British women noted, opinion on the princess divided partly along regional lines. "She was managed to get the hatred of the north behind her, at least the southern married ones," said an admittedly perplexed senior "fife, shie, disturbed, cynical, utterly blue-eyed, and speaks in that gravelly rasp," said Carmen Calli, founder of the respected women's publishing house Virago Press. "But women do seem to identify with her because of her troubles." More men, on the other hand, found her behavior stupid and unimpressive. That attitude was perhaps best expressed by the middle-aged man who, when confronted by one of the TV crews that visited London pubs for instant reaction to the broadcast, described Diana as being "slightly on the wrong side of eccentric."

But this is not so much a war of the sexes as a war of civil courts, as Diana herself made clear in her constant references to Charles' camp as "the enemy." Her charges were stunning, if unproven: "they" had stolen her mail, tried to discredit her by buying her phone and leaking misqu岸ts of conversations with other men to the media. There is more evidence for another allegation: that Charles's friends and staff have spent the past few years whispering to sympathetic journalists that Diana was "banned," or on a "voluntary emotional state," her "retirement" from public life in December, 1993, surprised her husband. "It is a great relief to know that you should always outlive the enemy," she said.

They were probably even more confused when the uninvited wife in weeks. But that is nothing compared to the quagmire also will for the Royal Family: how to deal with a self-declared enemy who will not play by the old rules and has far more popular support than they. The House of Windsor is a family rooted in tradition, where the source of authority has been explained simply by pointing to the drawing of the family tree. The Queen Mother, now 95, last left camp to give an interview in the mid-1980s. The abdication crisis in 1936 was resolved by casting Edward and the twice-divorced Mrs. Simpson into exile and shuffling the crown dowries to brother George. Consented in this world, the Windsors plainly believe that the prince should derive only from his female side as wife of the Prince of Wales.

Now, she has demonstrated to even the most blinkered royal courtier that she is a media star in her own right. "Until Diana rose



"You try and hurt yourself because you want help"

The princess as the go-to psychoanalyst and courtier therapist

Second: "She is experienced enough to see the danger of Diana. But it is sad because, by crucifying the monarchy, Diana has criticized the Queen who was always her one big supporter when the rest of the family were turning away."

As usual, there were endless analyses of whether the monarchy could survive the antics of Charles and Diana's generation. "It is surprising that the British people, who support us so much," said the monarchy, accept such driven from this unhappy pair, and thus put it all at risk," said publisher Cudlipp. No longer denied as "unacceptable," leaders of Britain's right republican movement were welcomed on television panels to air their opinions on the sordidness. The Windsors revealed the family movement to keep themselves going and it is clearly not going to work after this," chorused Stephen Hawker, chairman of the group called Republic.

In the end, there is the stark possibility that the celebrity marriage may, in fact, help save the monarchy from disappearing. Having discarded the role of domain consort, the Italian-bred, polylingual princess, who would be comfortable enacting on the most hard of North American title shows, did her bit to connect her for that people are becoming "more international" in the crown. But there are worse things than indifference. The British monarchy, for all its flaws, has served as a symbol of stability over the centuries. Now, it has become a TV-and-tablet background for the authorialized set, and the Charles and D show themselves to run on and on.

along, all we ever heard from the Royal Family was the same speech from the Queen every Christmas," said Alan Clark. "But I learned early that she could work the media to her advantage, and she is dragging the reins into the 1990s. The monarchy's only hope for survival is to harness their wiles to her, to talk to the people she talks to."

Last week Diana was freely offering advice on how the monarchy should change. "I would like a monarchy that has more contact with its people," she said, and then described in language more often heard of beauty pageants what she meant by that. "I think the British people need someone in public life to give them affection, to make them feel important, to support them, to give them light in their dark tunnels," she said. And: "Someone's got to go out there and love people and show it. And, less modestly: 'I've got a tremendous knowledge about people and how to communicate, and I want to use it.' And, more succinctly, 'I've got to be an ambassador for this country.' I think this media interview, let's not just sit in this country and be battered by it. Let's take them, these 60 to 80 photographers who follow me, out to represent this country and the good qualities of it abroad." So, off to Argentina she flew last week, photographers in tow—though have the royal rat pack will improve British-Argentine relations is open to question.

There were hints last week that Buckingham Palace, unable to bury Diana, might be willing to praise her. The palace would support the princess on her wish to become an ambassador for Britain, said a spokesman. Of course, the role would have to be "defined," the spokesman added lamely, perhaps, that when Diana appointed herself as the unofficial mascot of Britain's international rugby team, she struck up such a close friendship with team captain Bill Corbridge that his marriage fell apart because of it. "I think the Queen is highly kind of what Diana has become," said Mervyn

Revenge of the sacrificial virgin

BY JUDITH THIMSON

First, the bad ending. After her tell-all interview, the Princess is destined to be a Princess and is taken to the Tower of London, where she remains locked up—the Royal Balm of the Most Wives of Windsor. (The sharing while Windsor's social sheet she now knows the end is on display in the *De-wilderness* room of the Windsor and Albert Museum.)

Or possibly, after her interview, the Princess is allowed everywhere, even at the Chelsea Harbour Club, where she still works until one day, tragically, she sacrifices herself to death.

Or even, after her interview, the Princess, drawing strength from Diana's mother, "I'm not just a girl," is sent to America, where she now appears regularly on David Letterman's show doing *Stupid Princess Tricks*.

As you can see, the possibilities for a very bad ending to this royal soap opera are endless, which is the main reason, of course, that we all keep watching. But so do the new-fangled end last week of Diana's media binges, there was simple reason for even die-hard observers to be fed up with the whole mess: this is embarrassing, isn't they do this in private, so what? So for this time, the entire Royal Family is fixed with, as Jim Carrey would say, *see-oo-see*.

But let's go back to the beginning. I confess, that along with millions of others, I vividly followed the courtship of Grace and Charles. I did not put totally into the new life, but I do remember feeling to the sounds of the trumpet, wedding as I watched the royal wedding, late last night in the early morning hours. I remember Diana was anyone over that young—in her golden coach, I remember her carefully walking with her ladyship father up the aisle, seductively slouching over Charles's four inches during the vows. And I remember, afterward, receiving phone calls from other relatively serious women who took time out from running the country to say: "What was with those binges? They were practically over her eyes!" And, more impor-



Even during fairy-tale time, something was amiss

tem: "Do you think she's happy?" But there was something amiss. How could there be when the main qualification to become the wife of the Prince of Wales, other than noble lineage, was simply to be a virgin? Forget compatibility, forget sophistication, forget even a sense of duty. What you needed was a negative—no previous sexual history—rather than a positive.

As a minor aristocrat who otherwise would have lived an obscure existence married to someone equally obscure, ended up, albeit with her passionate consort—the wife of an alcohol, older man whose interest in her was, shall we say, nuanced? She gave him domestic legitimacy and those ad-aptations. He was supposed to give her the keys to the kingdom, and some version of happy ever after.

And we all know the story from there—his ambivalence, her suicide attempt, his neglect, her love, her ambivalence about being king, her desire to hang in there, and of course their children, who must endure their parents' bad behavior: private and public.

However, with gifts showing British opinion clearly on her side, it feels as though Diana's gentle has paid off. Call it the flowering of the Sacred Virgin. She has even been a client of one of an eminent institution getting what it so richly deserves: "Can we not be a little angry at the sheer cynicism of Charles's courtesy of Diana, the chief glorying of her to become public property when he had his own romantic agenda, and he and others in the palace went like deities—or worse, did not even care—to notice that Diana was a pretty girl who could have been a queen?"

Any psychology major could have recognized the warning signs, both from a difficult childhood (her mother had run off with another man), locked in boarding school, intellectually unimpaired, insecure. Unmistakable. More suitable to be Queen for a Day than Queen of England.

So she became a valuable asset to her jumpy husband as the expense of any emotional fulfillment. She became at once a glamorous star and a neglected wife. (In Canada, we have seen this script before. Does the name Margaret Trudeau ring a bell? And from the look at Rodney St. George's foot last week, as her husband envisioned plans for his own coronation, well, let's hope. The Rising Stones don't let Quebec City. She'll be off like a shot.)

Diana is no easily led lamb, and any attempt to discredit her along her lines but to acknowledge her uncanny manipulation of the media. It is equally obvious, however, that Diana has ordered respect, public humiliation, breakdowns and loneliness that would be excruciating if she were a private citizen, but in the place of the spotlight must have been asked to drive her crazy. Or make her painfully human, able to connect with ordinary people in a way that no other member of the Royal Family can.

The palace will be assembling, in the days to come, to either look her down for good, or to find a way to help her salvage some dignity—ha, hint, and most precisely that of the monarchy. Which brings us to another ending. After her interview, the Princess agrees to be a divorcee in which she gets ample money, unlimited access to her eggs and a job as well as an ambassadorship that she performs splendidly. Charles comes as no prince with Camilla discreetly at his side. Yes, later, after the Queen has enjoyed an unusually long and healthy reign, Prince William finally succeeds his grandmother on the throne. At his coronation, King William delivers a special tribute to Diana (who is wearing a stunning Versace dress, and looks beautiful). "I think we all know how much my mother went through in those early years, and I just want to say how much I admire and love her and how pleased I am that she and her husband, who adores her, could be with us today. Mom, you're the greatest."

Now, there's what I call *Happy Ever After*.

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LIFESTYLES



Hooters restaurant in Buffalo, N.Y.: charges of discrimination—against men

The Hooters debate

A U.S. restaurant chain flirts with Canada

At lunchtime on a Friday afternoon, the restaurant is nearly full. It is an prime real estate, the Harbor Place complex overlooking the old port of Baltimore. But the patrons have not come for the view. In a menu, which features such run-of-the-mill finger foods as sorozed shrimp, french fries and chicken wings? Hardly. The ambience? Nothing special: wooden flooring and bar stools, a sign on the men's washroom that reads "The Creepers." No, what drives the clientele—the men, at least, who comprise more than half the 100 or so customers—are the waitresses, pretty young women wearing revealing shorts, nylon tights, athletic shoes and casual button-downs at a waist, the back so that they only just cover the bustline. Welcome to Hooters, a place where the name indeed says it all. "I came here for a beer and a sandwich," explains postal worker David Taylor, 45, "and to look at the girls."

That formula—food, "beer, beer or wine only" and scintillating club hostesses—has proven to be a recipe for success since Hooters opened its first restaurant in Clearwater, Fla., in 1983. Today, the company operates 172 restaurants in 31 states and Puerto Rico, employs more than 15,000 people, including 20,000 Hooters Girls, and had revenues last year of \$900 million. Thirty-five per cent of its income comes from food, 30 per cent from alcohol and five per cent from merchandise ranging from T-shirts and baseball caps emblazoned with the Hooters and logo to Hooters Girls calendars and Hooters Magazine.

(circulation: 35,000). Now, Hooters is looking north, to Canada and its disposable-income-rich urban centres of Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary and Toronto. "I would hope that by the end of 1996 or by the first part of 1997 we will be in Canada," says Mike McNeil, vice-president of marketing for Atlanta-based Hooters of America Inc.

But if and when Hooters expands to its particular brand of tacky Americana to Canada, it will also be sparking controversy. Recent criticism from women's groups that Hooters was sexist to sell food—even the name, critics charge, is clearly sexist—the chain now faces a lawsuit launched by four Chicago-area men who were denied employment as Hooters Girls because they were, well, men. More troublesome, however, has been the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. After a four-year investigation, the commission accused Hooters last spring of discriminating against men in its hiring practices. Compensation talks broke down in October after the commission handed Hooters lawyers an 88-page list of demands which included paying \$30 million to the alleged "victims" of the restaurant's hiring policy, establishing a scholarship to enhance job opportunities for men, and providing training to teach Hooters employees how to be more sensitive to men's needs.

The controversy, which has no enforcement power of its own and whose members have so far declined to comment on the case, could now take Hooters to federal court on charges of violating the Civil Rights Act of

GIBSON'S FINEST 12 YEAR OLD



WHEN ONLY THE FINEST WILL DO

2004 that the chain is not waiting for a trial to get its side of the story out. Earlier this month, the company launched a \$1-million marketing campaign to fight the union's claim in the court of public opinion in major newspapers throughout the United States. It ran ads showing a false-bearded, mustachioed man wearing the Hooters Girl uniform and holding a sign that read "Washington—Get a Grip!" Last week marked the end of a lively promotional tour that included miles attended by Hooters Girls in incognito and aimed at garnering public support. McNeil, who led the tour, says that it provided a "handful of support" for Hooters (and, by the way, increased sales at the restaurants). The employment commission's action, McNeil adds, is needless government intervention in a legitimate business. "It's this where our country is going," he said, "then the next thing you know they're going to have men at the Miss America Parade."

Still, McNeil readily acknowledges that Hooters' hiring practices are discriminatory in one regard: the waitresses have to meet the Hooters Girl image of the Ad-American cheerleader. "One thing of attractive women, you think of a woman and bubbly personality, you think about female sex appeal," explains McNeil, who points out that 70 per cent of Hooters' customers are men. But what about women applicants who do not fit the Hooters image? "Well, that is go-

ing to sound stupid, and I don't want it to be," replies McNeil, "but in terms of the law, ugly is not a protected class."

Although Hooters may be months away from coming to Canada, there are already some indications that its look (and maybe its tasteless) use of beauty waitresses may not play well north of the border. Earlier this month, Alberta media prominently reported that Hooters had signed a deal with a franchise to open its first Canadian outlet in Edmonton on March 1. The reports prompted a raft of angry letters to newspapers. "I find the notion of a restaurant named Hooters not only sexist and offensive," read one letter to the Calgary Herald, "but also a discouraging reflection of some men's understanding of women."

McNeil, for his part, denies that Hooters is sexist. "We think it's great that we exploit

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS PICTURE?

The Greenhouse.



Hooters' anti-DEOC ad: advertisement

this whole thing is stupid," he says. "Why would any guy want to work in a place like this anyway?"

JOE CHIDLEY with WILLIAM LOWMYER in Calgary

women who are attractive are as ridiculous as saying that the CFL exploits men who are big and fat," he says. Employers and customers at the Baltimore Hooters seem to agree. Waitress Rachel Sands, 24, who is working on her master's degree in biological geography when she is not wearing the Hooters uniform, says she loves working there. "I believe that any job is only as degrading as you let it be," Sands adds. And junior Michael Carra, a 20-year-old student, says Hooters' ongoing battle with the federal commission is ridiculous. "I think

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Bodies and blood

Betty Goodwin depicts profound inner landscapes

It is, on the surface, a hauntingly beautiful landscape. In the hazy glow of a sunset, crimson mountains stretch across a dark space, a desolate horizon. But within this ethereal work by Montreal artist Betty Goodwin lies a disturbing underworld. The sanguine hills, on close inspection, assume the shape of a kaleidoscopic human body flailing in agony, in murky waters. The figure may be drowning, limbs entangled in masses of seaweed. Or perhaps it is a wanderer, pondering loneliness through the currents. Ultimately, *Signs of Life*, 2004—part of *Signs of Life*, a major

past three decades. That theme is summed up by the French Beckett quote appearing in several of the show's drawings: "It is the inner space we never see, the brain and heart and other centers where thought and feeling dance their Sabbath."

Goodwin's process evolves in the act of drawing; her main medium of expression "I don't have a blueprint in my mind," says Goodwin. "A work starts with the need of an idea and in the process of working it reveals itself more thoroughly." For many of the drawings in *Signs of Life*, Goodwin drew with graphite,



Nerves No. 14, August: the skin with the urgency of a surgeon

Signs of Life is a powerful collection of 33 mixed-media works, drawings, sculptures and a major installation by Goodwin who, at 72, is one of Canada's most outstanding artists. The subject of a moving retrospective in 1987, the reprinted *Canada* at the Venice Biennale this year and, in addition, was the \$25,000 Gertman Lakewood Prize, an annual Canadian award for sustained artistic excellence. The exhibit travels to the National Gallery in Ottawa at the end of February, where it stays until May 22. Meanwhile, Betty Goodwin hosts a show of more than 70 of the artist's small-scale drawings, in at the MacKie Art Gallery in Quebec until Jan. 28. While the Biennale show spans the past two decades, *Signs of Life* focuses on new projects from the past few years.

All the works—drawn from two of Goodwin's latest series, *La mémoire du corps* (Memory of the Body) and *Nerves*—are strong, expressive statements on their own. But viewed together in *Signs of Life*, they appear to be connected, each a variation on a theme that Goodwin has explored in her art over the

past and oil stick on Goodwin, a translucent nylon that she chose for its resilience and flexible quality. Smudges, cancer marks and bits of tracing tape left behind become part of the imagery, suggesting textures and wounds in some of the exhibition's drawings. "The works themselves are so alive," says Bradley, "in that one really feels her process—the layering, the backing away, the creating out, the starting over again." Much of Goodwin's work is black and white. And when she resorts to color, Bradley notes, the artist does so mainly "for dramatic effect. The images carry the meaning of the work."

Goodwin uses the human figure as a metaphor in sensitive, expressive ways. In the *Nerves* series, she has gone beneath the skin with the urgency of a surgeon, seeking the nerve center, the source of inner life. In

three sculptures titled *Spine*, for example, the artist has transformed steel rods and plaster into stark columns resembling fine veins of backbone, leading with nerve-like wires. "They are not illustrations of a spine," says Bradley, who recently joined the Art Gallery of Ontario as curator of contemporary art. "They give more a sense of the spine as a life center of the body." In another, multilayered work, *La mémoire du corps XX*, one of the finest pieces in the show, a tree work of black, vein-like tree roots appears to vibrate as a shimmering blooded back ground. The piece is like a supernatural X-ray, allowing the artist to portray and illustrate the elusive pulse of life.

Paradoxically, in several works Goodwin explores the human body through its absence. Many years ago, she discovered an old Flemish plate of a still life used to claim Vincent van Gogh to his final days at a sanatorium. She placed the picture in the wall of her studio in an abandoned factory in east-end Montreal, which she and her husband, Martin, a 74-year-old retired engineer, had converted into a home and work space. Now, Goodwin has transformed that crude bath-tub image, suggestive of a womb or a tomb, into a powerful symbol of life and death. The empty tub—suggesting she says, "a memory of the body"—is relayed to mural-sized proportions in a dramatic painting called *La mémoire du corps VI*. The red outlines of the tub appear to glow through dirt and soil as a tarry black background prevails—through the impact of the paint—an eerie, electric sense of awe at the urgency of existence.

The most straightforward piece in *Signs of Life* is *Disoriented*. A large, heavy steel plate is engraved with thousands of serial numbers, suggesting a monument to those who died in the Holocaust. An ordinary, heavy-duty shovel hangs at the foot and center of the work, assaulting viewers with the stark reality that millions of people died and were buried. When asked about the origins of the work, Goodwin is evasive. "It is absolutely very difficult for me to talk about what my inspirations are," she says. "It's not even an inspiration, it's more like a piece of weaving that comes together from many experiences. I live in the old factory and I guess it gets connected." But Goodwin intends any attempt to trace the disorienting imagery of her work to cataclysmic events in her own life, including the death of her only son in 1978. All she will allow is that art is "how I cope with what is going on."

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BOOKS

Unknown soldiers

The Czechs in the U.S. Civil War come to life

THE BRIDE OF TEXAS

By Josef Slovacek
(Knopf/Canada, 909 pages, \$32)

The American Civil War would seem an odd topic for a Czech novelist living in Canada, but when Josef Slovacek was researching his 1986 novel, *Doves in Love*, he discovered that many Czech immigrants to the United States had served in the victorious Union Army inspired by their experiences, the Toronto-based author spent seven years writing *The Bride of Texas*, an epic novel about those soldiers and their families. First published in Czech in 1995 and now translated by Karel Polakowski-Herley, the book is a sort of New World War and Peace whose multiple stories reflect Slovacek's thoughts about the nature of love, violent conflict, life and freedom.

The Bride of Texas begins more disappoint-

ingly than any other novel Slovacek has written. Trying to jump start his tale, he introduces us many characters, and watches scenes so rapidly, that the book eventually settles down to a more pleasing rhythm. Slovacek is a natural storyteller—it is surprising how many moments do not have this basic ability—and knows how to make the reader's appetite throughout. His Czech immigrants are a likely entry band who, on the whole, tend to get served ahead of heretics. Indeed, the most comic of them, Pte. Shale, is a direct tribute to the cowardly authors of the classic Czech novel *The Good Soldier Švejk*. Others, such as Sgt. Kapa, are made of sterner stuff. Having fled Europe because he has killed his commanding officer



Slovacek delights

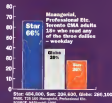
in the Austro-Hungarian army, Kapa becomes a personal squire for the Northern general, William Tecumseh Sherman. His sympathetic observations of the great general "with the weathered face of a proud bugger" allow Slovacek to undermine the common historical view of Sherman as an inhuman butcher.

Although it contains many flashbacks to Europe and the Czech ghettos of prewar America, the novel focuses mainly on Sherman's army as it cuts a broad swath through the all-but-defeated South. Slovacek evokes the terrible beauty of its campaign on the move, with their cantorial clank of tin cups and canteens. And he is superb at describing the miseries of the ordinary militiamen, including the inevitable interludes of black comedy (fascist smoking break rifle shots or large quantities of whiskey). But his main female characters—including Lida, the social-climbing Czech, and Danka, the beautiful black slave—any rather conventionally drawn, and Slovacek tends to go in for quantity and variety rather than thematic depth. Still, the delights of the novel are many: the Sherman's ragtag army, *The Bride of Texas* ultimately gets the job done.

JOHN BETHUNE

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BOOKS

Oh, woe is Canada

New political works diagnose the country's ills

The controversial British right-wing politician Enoch Powell once wrote "Fellacious who complain about the media are like ship's captains who complain about the sea." That may be true, but it seldom stops either breed from trying. Former prime minister Brian Mulroney, in fact, cursed with the precision eloquence of a master scuttler at almost every mention of the media. More recently, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, who used to boast that he never cared about what journalists said, publicly expressed anger at what he considered biased coverage of the Quebec referendum.

Now, the fall book season brings a variety of oftentimes first politicians are likely to greet with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Mulroney, for one, plays a key role in two books by Mulroney's critics that are among the bigger and more controversial volumes of the fall. Peter G. Newman, the magazine's senior contributing editor, chronicles the changes in politics and societal attitudes that took place in Canada during the Mulroney years in *The Canadian Revolution: From Defiance to Deference* (Penguin), while senior editor Marc

McDonald takes the Mulroney government to task for its mistakes with the United States in *Yankee Doubt: Doubt: Brian Mulroney and the American Agenda* (Stoddart). And the current Prime Minister is the subject of another recent release, *Chivalry: Pol-*

it possible to be both at the same time. Three other new releases feature original material that deals with the current political scene. Assessments from the Mulroney Ottawa bureau.

One of the best and most original of releases of this or any other year is one in which individual politicians play a secondary role to stress *Nationhood Without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian* (McClelland & Stewart), by author and syndicated Toronto Star columnist Richard Gwyn, who brings some readers as much as he will delight them. But his frankness of thought should allow the country's



Gwyn, No-side rally in Montreal (left), breaking the emotional distance

ance. *The Fall to Win* (Lester), by Ottawa-based author Lawrence Martin, the first of a planned two-part study of Chrétien's life.

Excerpts from all three of these books have appeared in recent issues of *Maclean's*. But they are far from the only significant political works being released in time for Christmas. Another is *Wine Country in This Age* (Douglas & McIntyre) by former Progressive Conservative advisor Dalton Camp. A collection of the best of Camp's extensively syndicated newspaper columns, the book presents the former Tory in a guise that will surprise some—as a defender of and unabashed believer in the need for a strong central government and generous social programs, as well as an opponent of unfettered free markets. *Wine Country* has the old dictum that "anyone who is not a socialist at 35 has no heart, anyone who is not a conservative at 30 has no head." Camp, through his columns, persistently makes the case that it may

also merited political debate to take after new directions. Gwyn looks at some of the most deeply embedded beliefs that have taken root among the country's ruling political classes in the past three decades and concludes that some have achieved the exact opposite of their intended goal. Among his targets, government-sponsored employment equity programs, official multiculturalism and an immigration policy that, he says, is "hopelessly" out of date in meeting Canada's needs. All three, he suggests, have done more to divide Canadians than unite them. At the same time, Gwyn berates the present leadership for carrying down "bureaucratic Canada" with a sweeping *children of racism and nations*.

But despite these views, Gwyn's book is neither a conservative polemic nor a plea to imagined better days in past times. Instead, he suggests that Canada is uniquely placed to become the world's first "postmodern" country—and a model to all others—if it can learn to combine the traditions of agriculture, civility and tolerance that characterized so much of its past with the cultural



Is there hope for the country amid rampant divisiveness and erosion of the traditional safety nets?



Chretien, Trudeau (below): sharply differing views of the Liberals' record on the social programs front

richness and diversity of modern times. In short, he argues that a country whose people feel free to be themselves, rather than conforming to a national stereotype, should be celebrated rather than stigmatized.

Most of all, Gray's main point lies in the face of present accepted wisdom, or what it is on its head. Although many Canadians look at the 1981 Charter of Rights and Freedoms as a guarantee of equality and proof of Canada's distinctiveness, he says it is neither. Rather, the thrust of the charter has unintentionally *homogenized* the country's political system by placing more power in the hands of the Supreme Court, and has ensured inequality and discrimination. As proof, he cites clause Section 15(2), which says that, despite the guarantees of equality elsewhere in the charter, it does not preclude any law, program or activity that has in its object the maintenance of conditions of disadvantage for individuals and groups.

Gray's prediction in the book that the socio-economic side would be roundly defeated in the Quebec referendum is as wrong as the views of virtually every other analyst on the issue. But he is right when he concludes that an imbalance between Quebec and the rest of the country, "at the real and distance that renders the most"—and the golf has been widening between the two sides for decades. In the wake of the close referendum result, he is particularly prescient in arguing that English Canada should devote more time to defining itself and its values, and to coming to terms with the idea of being a nation with or without Quebec. Perhaps the book's most startling and refreshing conclusion, given

the country's tradition of angst and hand-wringing on the subject, is that being French-Canadian doesn't have to mean saying you're sorry.

Another Toronto-based author is responsible for another of the season's most eagerly anticipated books, but with less successful results: John Gribshank's *All the King's Horses*. Published in 1994, which says that, despite the guarantees of equality elsewhere in the charter, it does not preclude any law, program or activity that has in its object the maintenance of conditions of disadvantage for individuals and groups.



Pierre Trudeau for his infelicitous biography. But Gribshank's new book is disappointing. Although he writes with his customary grace and ease, *All the King's Horses* is unfortunately heavy on style but light on substance. To be sure, its central thesis is enough to warm the heart of any sympathetic Trudeau or Liberal: Canada, Gribshank suggests, would be a lot better off today if Canadians would believe more in the Trudeau-esque notion of a strong central government and a single vision of their country. Today Trudeau's central vision of Canada has been discredited by everyone; it seems—except ordinary Canadians, who repeatedly rank him at the top of lists of "most admired Canadians" in public opinion polls.

That in itself makes Gribshank's defense of Trudeau worthwhile, but he weakens his case by outrageous claims and a quality of original reporting. At one stage, Gribshank asserts that Trudeau, by implementing such policies as official bilingualism and multiculturalism and his notion of a just society, created "the core of what disaffected Canadians from Americans and beyond deem as a conspiracy." This, in one swoop, he dismisses the notion that Canadians had any sense of self-worth or accomplishment in the 100 years that preceded Trudeau's becoming prime minister.

Beyond such rhetorical excess, what is most surprising is the lack of new material. *All the King's Horses* is heavy on interpretive history. It begins, for example, with a discussion of the significance of former

prime minister Kim Campbell's features for late December. A new, possibly large part of the book, in fact, is given over to Campbell and her five-month term in office. Little of the material is new, and much of it was covered far better and more comprehensively in former Campbell adviser David McLaughlin's 1994 book, *Personal Choice: How the Tories Self-Destructed*. The main reason for its inclusion seems to be for Gribshank to throw darts at the Ottawa arena gallery for its coverage of Campbell—before lobbing a few of his own at her.

Despite its inaccuracies, Gribshank is not a bad writer for the book to be missed on decenting qualities like chapters on the 1993 election race in the Toronto-area riding of Mississauga West; do vivid justice to the notion that no voters would ever be as hard on their members of parliament again if they

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BOOKS

LONG IS SHORT!

could spend just one week living their lives. Winning a seat in the House of Commons, as Liberal Carolyn Parrish did over incumbent Tory Bob Dineen and Reform hopeful Charles Goss, can be an all-consuming and soul-draining task—which makes the sheer persistence and aptitude of life in the government backbenches all the more frustrating. And Graham, with the shrewd eye of an insider, makes a valid point in arguing that despite their professions in the contrary financial professions of all stripes and the journalists who cover them have a self-serving interest in keeping power and attention focused as much as possible on Ottawa.

But given the author's wide range of contacts, the book is surprisingly light on the sort of anecdotes and scenes of atmosphere that give a book like *And Graham*, with access to Trudeau, Chretien and other senior Liberals, too often ignores content to accept their interviews as challenge, and their vision of history unquestioned. The sense of intellectual curiosity that marked his earlier books is gone. It is as though the author, having been given the keys to the Liberal kingdom, is determined to be regarded as a good guest rather than, in journalistic tradition, an interloper.

A very different take on the Liberal party is to be found in *Scorched Through the Heart: How the Liberals Ruined the Just Society* (HarperCollins). Maude Barlow and Bruce Campbell paint a deliberately harrowing picture of life after the dismantling of political and social institutions, a policy launched a decade ago by the former Conservative government of Brian Mulroney and accelerated under Jean Chretien's Liberals is the authors' view, greedy transnational corporations run roughshod over an impoverished Canada and the centralized political system that once shielded it. The Canada of Barlow and Campbell is a land that only the most heartless of its sons could lower a country of food huts and relief camps, ruled at the whim of an entrenched business elite. "Corporate interests have captured the political agenda," warn the authors. "They have put government and its citizens on trial."

As the clever title suggests, the culprit fingered by the authors is the federal Liberal party, under whose motto the social safety net was spun. Since the introduction of timely allowances in 1945 under Mackenzie King, succeeding Liberal governments expanded the net by either generous borrowing or stealing progressive ideas that excluded universal old-age security in 1963, federal welfare in 1968 and, as an element of Pierre Trudeau's so-called Just Society, an employment insurance was expanded 1971.

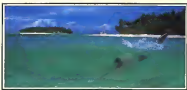


Campbell: was the media unfair to her?

Perhaps, as the authors suggest, establishment of the social welfare framework was in large part a calculated response by a party that knew how to capitalize on public opinion. Whatever past motives were, the book argues that present-day Liberals, stirred by their pre-bellum wing, are busy ripping Ottawa's covenant with the union member, despite promises to the contrary during the 1992 election campaign. "We keep being told that Canada is going through a bad time, and that if we are patient, all will soon be well," Barlow and Campbell write. "Let us contrast that corporate lie it is a matter of ideology, a clash of values, a contest of interests."

By presenting their case so stridently, Barlow and Campbell also trip into the same quagmire occupied by their arch-enemy, the right wing. To them, everything is suspect, even missions to galvanize international trade. Note the flaw: "Perhaps nothing symbolizes the change in priorities and values of both the nation and the Liberal party more than Jean Chretien and the premiers acting as pawns for Canada's corporate elite as they sell their swans around the world." Still, despite more than an occasional leap of hyperbole and scant concern about the deficit, the book's perspective is one that Canadians should consider—it is only as part of the process to shape a nation to which the 21st century once belonged.

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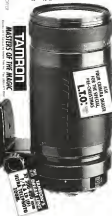
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Exit a Shakespearean actor, laughing

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The first time I encountered Bruno Gervais was in 1989 when he, a tall stranger, sprayed beer all over me. That would be in a small theatre in New Westminster, B.C., where he was Stanley Rowlands' coposite, *Blanche Dubois in Tennessee Williams' A Streetcar Named Desire*.

Months Bruno starred Broadway with his reputation as the darts-and-shots host, becoming instantly famous in the role, and the young Gervais had the same vigorous appearance. As someone with a lifetime seat in the front-row-of-the-house audience, I got the remnants of his angry beer battle all over me.

I was thinking of his last battle that last week—mostly, on his last battle that last week—mostly, on his last battle that last week—mostly, on his last battle that last week.

There was a link between the two Bruno Gervais represented everything that Canada can be: spontaneous, cracking out, unbridled emotion. And the man he was was someone before he died wants to look forward, to be nervous, to shrink a nation and a people.

Bruno—short, funny, cynical, creative—was a product of what Canada can be. He is there in his Indian stone-age imagination, settled in Montreal, where he was the only one to be because he was the star of *The Dumbbells*—an Italian playing a Greek—but he was more than that.

Since at one thought he never should have left the Stratford Festival, which, on reflection, doesn't pay all that much, Bruno Gervais, a classical actor and then the *Blanche Dubois* in the TV series, in his colony on the CBC, claimed that Laurence Olivier had stated that Bruno—well, he kept the exaggerations—was the best Roman he had ever seen on stage.

Gervais, an "idiot" (he's there, Mr. Pearson, did it all), a widower with two small children, he wisely decided he couldn't continue the running word of the theatre actor and had to rise them. He became the host—after the sparkling Helen Hutchings—of



the first time on CBC radio, the three-hour national celebration now hosted by icon Peter Gaudet.

Who, by the way, got it all wrong in his praise that Gervais was a "non-American," which he took to mean "not dead." The guy had a bigger ego than Sylvester Stallone. His swag was his overall downfall at the CBC, where he was killed to death by death.

One of the great passions of our time, since he had a clear eye for an actor, was that he looked up with the reigning queen of feminism on the Met Coast, if not all of Canada. He died in the kitchen of Nancy Mannum, product of *Vortex*, *Snak*, his laughter companion who has been a lifelong companion. Vancouver lawyer, family court judge and a lawyer again, a wit and cook beyond compare.

She had just served him his morning por-

ridge and—fine notes involved here—he was laughing at the Bouchard absurdities coming across the screen when his chair tipped and he was gone.

A statement's son from Medicine Hat who became a Shakespearean actor and then an accomplished radio performer and then, after a gig as a Celebrity Cook, a star for 10 years on one of the most successful CBC series ever that played in 30 countries. Watching—disbelieving, laughing, while he died—a guy on TV who is dedicated to being up on the country that the United Nations calls us as the best one on earth. That would give a massive heart attack to anyone.

The champagne ticks at the CBC, who can't stand stars, of course killed the show because it was too successful. Gervais was misled when he travelled to Australia. Gervais loved it, naturally—confirming their belief that every Canadian was a lumberjack idiot.

One of his kids married one of Pierre Berton's kids, the two old bears always in a row over who was the real grandfather. After over the author's CBC broadcast, his wife, while in his Toronto residence his favorite hunt with his CBC buddies was taken, the Riverside water-hole where *The Ladies Who Lunch* gather.

The last time we met (I met with this stranger, when he and the comrade Ninety were supposedly headed for this scribble's world-famous, but today party on an island off Vancouver. She was celebrated for always bringing the most imaginative (and most expensive) gift. They never arrived.

Next day came the explanation. They had on only gold pants and a nose, on the first base, had but a hole-

in one. "No problem," I offered, "you obviously retired for a disfigurement hole. But so. On the second hole, she slipped on wet grass and broke her leg in three places. It fitted perfectly with the improbable life of the immigrant's son. He believed in the country, the unlimited possibilities that are open to anyone with vision and ambition and belief. The last from Medicine Hat was a woman, who was a scholarship to the Bard School of Fine Arts and housed his gift with the Seattle Repertory Theatre and went on to Shakespeare and national radio and then becoming an environmental figure on television seen around this funny world.

And dying—hey there, Shakespeare—while watching over breakfast and eating his porridge, another actor, a handsome man who wants to destroy a country.

This may seem a caber, but it's not Bruno would have seen the humor

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